

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1920

Airplane View of Lower New York .Frontispiece	The Saving of Poland..... 371
The Progress of the World—	BY FRANK H. SIMONDS
Poland Saved by a French General..... 339	The American Woman Gets the Vote..... 380
Great Events in the Day's News..... 339	BY IDA HUSTED HARPER
The "League" as Discussed Two Years Ago 339	Alaska's Place in the Sun..... 385
High Hope of 1918 Not Realized..... 340	BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE
Dominant Influences in the Settlement... 340	<i>With illustrations</i>
The Treaty Status One Year Ago..... 341	Aviation Over the Water..... 391
The Mistake of Democratic Leadership... 341	BY BRIG.-GEN. WILLIAM MITCHELL
The Senate and Its Majority..... 342	<i>With illustrations</i>
Two Years Have Changed the Situation... 342	Our Navy's Air Service..... 399
Governor Cox and the League's Future... 342	BY CAPTAIN THOMAS T. CRAVEN, U. S. N.
Can Cox Convert the Senate?..... 343	<i>With illustrations</i>
Republican Senators Now Agreed..... 343	The Depreciated Foreign Exchanges..... 405
How Not to Proselyte Senators..... 343	Some Notable College Presidents..... 409
Will Democratic Senators Obey?..... 344	BY CHARLES F. THWING
Are Taft and Other "Leaguers" Consistent? 344	<i>With portraits</i>
Where Partisanship Is Not Efficient..... 344	The "Shop Committee" Cure for Industrial Unrest..... 412
Practical Solutions Desired..... 345	BY E. H. CHRISTY THOMAS
Harding Proposes to Consult..... 345	<i>With illustrations</i>
He Would Make Peace a Legal Fact..... 345	Hygiene of the School..... 416
Campaigning Methods in Contrast..... 346	BY FRANCIS ARNOLD COLLINS
Cox Machine Guns vs. Harding Artillery... 346	<i>With illustrations</i>
"System" and "Drive" in Politics..... 346	Stories of Roosevelt..... 419
Republican Money-Raising Plans..... 346	<i>With illustrations</i>
Increased Cost of Campaigns..... 347	Leading Articles of the Month—
Methods Vastly Improved..... 348	Harding, Taft, and the League of Nations 421
The Cox Charges as Specific..... 348	The League as a "Going Concern"..... 422
Work of the Kenyon Committee..... 348	Does Germany Mean Peace?..... 424
Discreditable Tactics but Clever..... 349	The States and the Soldier Bonus..... 426
Senatorial Contests..... 349	Production and Consumption—Inflation and Deflation..... 427
Republican Senators Endorsed..... 350	British Labor's "Council of Action"..... 429
Optimism of Harding Forces..... 350	The First Japanese Ambassador's Diary... 430
"As Goes Main, So Goes," etc..... 351	Alien and Sedition Laws of To-day..... 431
Politics in the West..... 352	Were There Aeronauts in 500 B. C.?..... 432
Ireland Still in Turmoil..... 353	General Wrangel, Anti-Bolshevist Leader 433
Ireland and the League..... 354	An Irish Republic Predicted..... 434
Giving Egypt Her Independence..... 354	Why the Union Has Failed in Ireland.... 435
Moslem Unrest in General..... 354	Gorky and the Bolsheviks..... 437
British India Prosperous..... 355	General Wood and Cuban Education.... 438
China Facing a Famine..... 355	The Adoption of the Referendum in Sweden 439
Russia Under a Heavy Yoke..... 355	Louvain University After the War..... 440
Industrial Aggression in Italy..... 356	Life in the Devasted Regions of Belgium.. 441
Giolitti at the Helm..... 356	Workingmen's Banks Proposed in France.. 442
Obregon As Mexico's President..... 357	The Case of Montenegro..... 443
Mr. Barrett and Dr. Rowe..... 357	
The Great French Loan..... 358	
Opportunities for Small Investors..... 358	
Splendid Industrial Recovery..... 358	
French Agriculture and Finance..... 358	
Our Present Shipping Position..... 359	
<i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i>	
Record of Current Events..... 360	
<i>With illustrations</i>	
Issues of the Campaign, in Cartoons..... 364	The New Books..... 445

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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF LOWER NEW YORK, WHICH HAS BECOME THE MOST HIGHLY CONCENTRATED CENTER OF BUSINESS CONTROL IN THE WORLD

("Wall Street" is the name that by common consent throughout the country denotes the financial and commercial power of the business men and large corporations that find headquarters in the lofty buildings known as skyscrapers shown in this new photograph from an airplane. In the immediate foreground is Battery Park, the tip end of Manhattan Island. The picture shows the towers of the Woolworth and Singer buildings and the Municipal office building. An explosion at noon, September 16, in Wall Street, near the bank building of J. P. Morgan & Co., the Stock Exchange, and the United States Sub-Treasury, killed about thirty people and injured a large number. Those who have been conspicuous lately in preaching the doctrine of revolution by violence may not have been connected with a plot to blow up Wall Street, but such doctrines incite the criminal, the fanatical and the cranks who rejoice in arson and assassination. This catastrophe may have a sobering effect upon those who are trying to prejudice working men against capital and big business in the present campaign, for vote-getting purposes)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Poland Saved
by a French
General*

Just six years ago Mr. Frank Simonds wrote for this magazine a remarkable account of the Battle of the Marne and the saving of Paris. For our present number he writes a similarly brilliant and well-informed article upon the sudden turn in the tide of Poland's fortunes, the overwhelming defeat of the invading Bolshevik armies of Russia, and the saving of the Polish capital, Warsaw, by tactics similar to those that saved Paris six years ago. The great strategists and leaders of the Marne victory were General Joffre, General Foch, General Weygand, and General Gallieni, not to ignore others whose names will live in military history. It was known in the recent crisis when the Red armies were within artillery range of Warsaw and the situation seemed hopeless, that there were capable French strategists assisting General Pilsudski and the Poles. But most Americans have not been aware of the extent to which France contributed the experience and the military genius that turned the tide, saved Poland, and probably saved the civilization of Europe from a worse fate than was involved in the menace of German militarism. Mr. Simonds shows that the hero of the Polish victory in this historic crisis on the Vistula was General Weygand. This French strategist had been Marshal Foch's right-hand man through the entire war period. Poland has accorded him every possible honor, but he has borne himself with such modesty as to make it the more agreeable to praise his achievements.

*Great Events
in the
Day's News*

Our daily newspapers are marvelous creations; and those who are most ready to disparage them are, as a rule, the least competent to sit in judgment. They obtain and print the news of the world, and their editorial pages to a notable extent provide intelligent and useful interpretations. But the newspapers

are so voluminous, and the bold headlines give so much emphasis to things strictly local, sensational, and transient, that it is very difficult for the average reader who relies solely upon the daily press for his understanding of the more permanent events, to acquire any well-proportioned knowledge of the course of large affairs in the nation and in the world. It is the function of such a periodical as this REVIEW to supplement the daily press by helping to present important phases of the news in due proportion, and in their relation to recognized movements of history. This function is admirably illustrated by the Simonds article, to which we have referred. The reader is made to see the Polish victory as one of the most significant events of half a thousand years in European annals. To read such an article is to gain some mental reinforcement as against the mere verbosity and insincerity of quite too much that is claiming attention in our current presidential campaign. We suggest to teachers of classes in history, politics, and current events that it might be instructive to read this article upon great events and actual conditions in September, 1920, and then to read certain campaign speeches on the League of Nations.

Much of this discussion of the League of Nations as now carried on in the United States seems to be unrelated to the facts of the world in which we live. The Armistice, the League, and the German peace terms were all in process of being outlined, and under preliminary discussion, almost two years ago. The armistice terms had to be made to fit certain facts which had been shaped by the fortunes of war. Those terms also undertook to assure various reforms that would make for stable equilibrium in the future. The peace terms as finally worked out in the treaty that Germany was compelled to sign,

*The "League" as
Discussed Two
Years Ago*



GENERAL MAXIME WEYGAND, FAMOUS FRENCH STRATEGIST

(General Weygand's direction of the Polish military movements that defeated the Red armies near Warsaw is brilliantly described in this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Simonds)

after the Allies had been in conference for several months, undertook to reconstruct territorially and politically the States of Eastern and Central Europe and to exact the largest possible measure of compensation from Germany. The League of Nations, as formulated simultaneously, was intended to be an organization having high prestige and great authority, which could take over from the Peace Conference the supervision and the execution of many projects that had been determined upon but that were of a continuing or of a permanent nature. Such projects, which were to be supervised by the League of Nations, included the execution of Germany's agreements regarding reparation, of necessity involving considerable periods of time. Further, they had to do with encouraging and strengthening the new governments which had been ordained, such, for example, as the new Poland, the new Finland, the new Czechoslovakia, the new Yugoslavia, and so on. Again the League of Nations was to supervise the unsettled questions

relating to the Balkans and to Turkey. It was to settle all such problems as those affecting the Armenians. It was to control (through the granting of mandates) the future of Syria, Palestine, and the whole colonial empire that had been taken away from Germany. Further, it was to supervise and control the processes of de-militarization, and to give reasonable security to all well-conducted countries that were adherents of the League and that were observant of their international obligations.

*High Hope of
1918 Not
Realized* The cessation of hostilities in November, 1918, brought unspeakable relief and joy to the world.

More than two million American boys had crossed the ocean in uniform, and a hundred thousand were fated not to return. This country at that moment was willing to make any sacrifices that could be mentioned, short of the sacrifice of honor and principle, to bring back those who were in trenches and camps abroad and in training at home, and to restore four millions of young Americans to their accustomed places in civil life. It is through the memory of our own feelings two years ago that we can interpret the feelings of the war-stricken nations of Europe. At that moment it seemed as if the ending of the Great War must certainly usher in the millennium. There were millions of people who felt that the civilized nations had tasted the final cup of bitterness, and that they were now ready to be sane, reasonable, conciliatory and neighborly. And thus it looked as if a peace based upon wise and just principles might be made permanent, and as if the peoples of the earth might find harmony—at least might avert further irretrievable disaster—by establishing a world federation for the settlement of difficult questions and for the maintenance of justice and order. After two years it becomes evident that a war of magnitude creates more problems than it settles; and that the issues growing out of a four years' struggle must require at least four years for the slow process of adjustment. In 1921, we must study afresh, and critically, the tasks of reconstruction.

*Dominant
Influences in
the Settlement*

The idealism that seemed to inspire the peoples of many countries in those days of profound emotion following the Armistice did not give shape to the plans of the cynical statesmen, financiers and diplomatists who gathered in

Paris to confer about the questions involved in a permanent program of peace. The only country that went to Paris asking for nothing, and seeking only to promote the general welfare, was the United States. We had supposed that the war had destroyed the twin evils of militarism and imperialism. But all of the leading nations at Paris, far from encouraging self-determination in the world as opposed to schemes of empire, appeared unblushingly as more imperialistic in their aims and plans than ever before. The mandate system as adopted was a fiction by means of which the appropriation of various domains might seem less selfish and more altruistic. Whereas the great powers were at Paris for the sake of extending and consolidating their empires, a number of the smaller ones were there for the sake of nationalistic aggrandizement. The League of Nations, as it had been advocated by its foremost champions in America, was wholly incompatible with the idea and the policy of great empires.

*The Superior
American
Record*

The United States, by reason of its geographical position, its great resources, and its peaceable attitude towards all mankind, did not need the League of Nations for its own safety. America had always given its influence for harmony and for order in the world. If the policies of other nations had been as unselfish as those of America, the League could have been established without much delay, and could have entered upon an influential and valuable career. League or no League, the United States has contributed in the past, and will contribute in the future, its full share and more towards the maintenance of peace and justice in the world. Those, there-

fore, of our fellow citizens who are reproaching the United States upon the ground of its being a "quitter," or of failing to do its part in keeping people from cutting one another's throats in Europe and Asia, would do well to say less and to think and study more. They are not sufficiently familiar with the record of their own country, in contrast with that of certain foreign governments.

*The Treaty
Status One
Year Ago*

It is indeed quite possible that if the United States had ratified the Treaty (including the League), very promptly, and had thrown its whole energy into the development of the League as an effective instrument for European peace, some of the misery of the past year might have been averted. For our own part, speaking editorially, we were sufficiently hopeful about it all to favor such a policy. We were willing to risk the Treaty as presented to the Senate, and we were quite as willing—rather more so perhaps—to ratify the Treaty as affected by the original Senate resolutions which secured a majority vote. These reservations would probably not have affected the practical working of the Treaty in any beneficial aspect; and but for the opposition of the President to the ideas that were acceptable to the great majority of the Senators, the Treaty would have been ratified a year ago and America would have had a most interesting opportunity to see what could be done with the League of Nations.

*The Mistake of
Democratic
Leadership*

We have not ceased to regret the lamentable deadlock at Washington, which exhibited us to the world as a paralyzed and incapable Government, with no policy at all in respect to matters of international moment. Again let it be said, we could have had the Treaty a year ago with reservations that would not have hampered in any manner our full and responsible participation in the work of the League and in the adjustment of world problems. Nobody in Europe objected to the reservations which could have been agreed upon a year ago. Those that the Senators adopted half a year later included one or two things that were less acceptable; but even then the European governments were not objecting to them. For President Wilson and the Democrats to have killed the treaty because they did not like the Senate reservation relating to Article X was to assume a very serious responsibility, for which



MARS TRIUMPHANT

August 4, 1914—August 4, 1920

ANGEL OF PEACE (to God of War): "Six years hast thou reigned, O Mars. Art thou not yet satisfied?"
From the *Passing Show* (London)

in our opinion there was no justification. The treaty could have been ratified with reservations; and we should have had legal peace with Germany and our full part in the League. The Democrats would then have had the opportunity to go before the country on the question of securing a repeal of the Senate's ratifying resolution, in so far as it contained certain reservations that Mr. Wilson and the Democrats did not like. This would have been not only the wise and patriotic thing to do, but it would have had the redeeming quality of common sense. In not taking this course, the Democrats brought disaster upon the cause that they professed to serve.

*The Senate
and Its
Majority*

Everybody knows that the ratification of a treaty requires a two-thirds affirmative vote of the Senators. It is equally well known that, whereas the Republicans now have a slight majority in the Senate, neither party as a result of the pending elections will have anything like a two-thirds majority. There can not, then, at any time in the near future be an agreement upon any treaty whatsoever if the Senate is to divide upon strictly partisan lines. So many Democratic Senators were entirely ready to join the Republicans in an agreement upon a series of mild reservations that the necessary two-thirds could readily have been secured but for the unbending attitude of the President, and the power of the Executive to influence the position of a certain number of Democratic Senators. Common sense, then, we must repeat, pointed to the ratification of the treaty with such reservations as two-thirds of the Senators could have agreed upon. It would then have remained entirely open to the Senate at any time to rescind its reservations in whole or in part, or to modify them in any way in the light of further discussion or of changed public opinion. No change whatever had been proposed in the text of the treaty itself, and its ratification by the United States would have been quite as complete as that of any other government.

*Two Years
Have Changed
the Situation*

What might easily have been done a year ago, however, could not so easily be done now. Our ratification then would have had its influence upon the shaping of world affairs. Much history has been made in Europe, Asia, Africa and the islands of the seven seas since Mr. Wilson returned from Europe and

toured the country arguing in favor of the acceptance of the treaty without amendment or reservation. It was one thing to take the League of Nations as it stood and enter it a year ago. It may prove to be quite a different thing to take it as it was formulated at Paris in the early part of 1919; and accept it *in toto* some time in the course of the year 1921, for application to conditions then existing. Two years will have made a good deal of difference one way or another. It may have come to pass next year that a number of Governments would like to confer upon the question of a thoroughgoing revision of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and thus would prefer to have the United States in a detached position, so that it could act for the best interests of everybody concerned in the light of the facts of 1921 rather than those of 1918. Many of the best friends of the League idea are now satisfied that it was a mistake to put the elaborate League project into the peace treaty. A much better organization for peacekeeping may yet be worked out.

*Governor Cox
and the
League's Future*

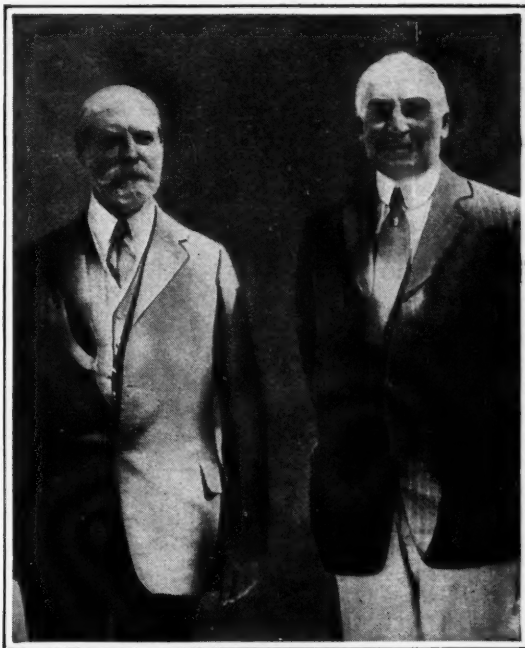
As we reminded our readers in these pages last month, there is no prospect at all that the deadlock at Washington can be broken until the expiration of President Wilson's term on the fourth of March, which coincides with the end of the present term of Congress. Our next President will be Senator Harding or Governor Cox. We are electing a new House of Representatives and are replacing one-third of the Senators. The new Congress is quite certain to be called in extra session very soon after the fourth of March. Let us for the sake of the argument assume for a moment that Governor Cox will be elected. Let us further assume that the Democrats will change the balance in the Senate and secure a slight working majority. Governor Cox has given the League of Nations a large place in his campaign speaking and has made himself the champion of President Wilson's views. He has not tried to find even an excuse or an apology for the position taken by the large majority of Senators. On the contrary he has attacked Republican Senators unsparingly. He has rudely jostled the Senatorial dignity. He has contemptuously impugned the Senatorial motives. If possible, he has been much more partisan and offensive in his characterizations of the Republican Senators than President Wilson himself has ever been.

*Can Cox
Convert the
Senate?*

Nevertheless, Governor Cox professes to desire, above everything else in public policy, that the United States should promptly enter the League of Nations and help to straighten out the ugly tangles in which European and Asiatic affairs are involved. But, apart from the exigencies of a political campaign, the Governor is a practical man of affairs. He understands as well as anybody the adaptation of means to ends. Although his speeches seem to be intended to give the ordinary voter the impression that his election will somehow put us at once inside the League of Nations, he knows perfectly well that his election can have no such effect unless it also carries with it the miraculous conversion of the United States Senate to his point of view. As matters stand, the League-of-Nations talk on the part of the two presidential candidates is not unimportant; but it is in no manner determining. The business of a president in the matter of treaties is to secure their drafting and negotiation. Then comes the business of the Senate, in which the President has no appropriate participation. It is quite as much to the point, therefore, to keep track of the Senatorial campaigns in some sixteen of the States as to follow the arguments of the Presidential candidates.

*Republican
Senators
Now Agreed*

The treaty under discussion, including the League, has already been formulated. If Governor Cox is elected, he can do nothing—along the line of his campaign utterances—except to hand the treaty once more to the United States Senate and there leave it at the Senate's unaided discretion. What then is to happen in case of the election of Governor Cox? We must infer from his speeches that he will at once return the Wilson treaty to the Senate, this act, of course, making it his own and implying his desire to have it ratified. But even if the slight Republican majority is lost, nobody knows better than Governor Cox that a slight Democratic majority would not secure the requisite two-thirds vote of ratification. And this is conspicuously true for two very important reasons. First and foremost, the Republican Senators are much more completely unified in their



REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES OF 1920 AND 1916

(Hon. Charles E. Hughes, of New York, recently visited Senator Harding in Ohio. Like Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes cordially supports the Republican candidate in his general attitude towards the Treaty and the League of Nations)

opposition to what they now call the Wilson-Cox League than they had been at any time before Congress adjourned in June. Such typical and representative Senators as Cummins, Kellogg, and Lenroot are not fighting for the League as against Senators Johnson, Borah, and Poindexter. Senator Lodge is not antagonizing the position of Senator Knox. In short, those Republican Senators who favored the League with mild reservations now recognize the fact that historic conditions have changed with the passage of two years, and are favoring a fresh study of the League upon its merits as related to existing world conditions.

*How Not to
Proselyte
Senators*

There is not, therefore, any chance at all that the Republican Senators in case of the election of Governor Cox will gratify the new President by helping promptly to constitute the necessary two-thirds. Yet nothing can be accomplished without their votes. Even if the Republicans were not more nearly united than ever as a matter of conviction based upon more mature study, they would not be likely to succumb to the proselyting

methods that Governor Cox has chosen to adopt. He has castigated them as if they were public enemies, and has held them up to scorn as inferior in patriotism, blind in partisanship, and altogether unfit and unworthy. Surely these are not persuasive methods. They will not incline any Republican Senators to eat out of the hand of the Democratic President in case Governor Cox should be elected.

Will Democratic Senators Obey? So much for the first of the two important facts. The second one also has much bearing upon the prospects of the League of Nations. Again let us suppose that Cox is elected and that there is a Democratic majority in the Senate. This signifies at least one more than forty-eight Democratic Senators. Let us call it fifty for purposes of discussion. And now for the question. How many of such a majority group of fifty Democratic Senators would accept the leadership of a new Democratic President, upon a holdover issue like the ratification of the League of Nations? Certainly not all of them. A considerable number of Democratic Senators whose seats are secure are on record as favoring reservations. Furthermore, some at least of the new Democratic Senators who will replace retiring members are far from being champions of the unamended League. These are the facts that make the present Democratic discussion of the League of Nations purely academic, and almost entirely unrelated to the existing conditions of politics and current history both at home and abroad.

Are Taft and Other "League" Consistent?

Certain newspapers in New York City and elsewhere that are supporting Governor Cox as against Senator Harding have been much exercised in their editorial columns over the fact that so many high-minded persons (like President Taft, for instance) who favored the League of Nations a year or two ago, are cheerfully supporting Harding and opposing Cox. The endeavor to make such people appear in an inconsistent light rests solely upon certain forms of words, and ignores the factor of time. The truth is that these men sincerely desire to secure international harmony through valuable coöperation. They are unable to see that the election of Mr. Cox would bring about such results merely because he says certain things in his speeches. Apparently Governor Cox, like President Wilson, is committed to the acceptance of

the covenant of the League as formulated in the Peace Conference or to nothing at all. But it is quite certain that Governor Cox, if elected, cannot secure the acceptance of that particular instrument by the United States Senate. To vote the Democrats in and the Republicans out on that issue, therefore, would have no particular bearing of a constructive kind upon the future. It would merely be to live in the past, and to try to punish the Republicans for their disposition to modify slightly the treaty that President Wilson brought back with him. It is by no means true that Republican success would mean American withdrawal from international responsibility. What the Republicans promise is that they will do their best to ascertain the nature and extent of such responsibilities, and to agree upon the best means of meeting them as they arise.

Where Partisanship Is Not Efficient

Again we declare our own view that the deadlock was deeply regrettable. It would have been sensible and wise if the President had yielded to the Senate. It would probably not have been disastrous if the Senate had yielded to the President. It would have been especially commendable if President and Senate had ignored party lines in matters of foreign policy and had come together unitedly upon some basis of agreement. It is of no particular use to attack the President for his rigidity, or to abuse the Senate for its insistence. The deadlock was and still remains a palpable fact. The continuance of that deadlock has been coincident with many changes in conditions abroad. The next President, whether Cox or Harding, should ignore party lines in these questions of international policy. He should do his best to encourage calm and reasonable discussion, and to secure some kind of consensus of competent opinion upon a wise, safe, and honorable course to be pursued. Senator Harding has not undertaken to foreclose upon the country's opportunity to think for itself in the future. He has not declared that he, if elected, will expect to be the sole formulator of American policy. He will try to coöperate with the Senate and he will endeavor to remember that in a republic like ours it is not the duty of intelligent citizens to quit thinking after election day. He does not hold to the theory that the circumstance of election to an important office suddenly endows the newly chosen public servant with all-sufficing resources of wisdom.

*Practical
Solutions
Desired*

He disavows the party spirit in foreign policy. Perhaps, then, there is some consistency in the position of President Taft and hundreds of others who have been associated with him in advocating a League of Nations for peace and justice. They know that they will be fully consulted in case of Republican victory. Their object is not merely to argue and theorize, but to secure practical results. The Democrats, in so far as they are talking about the League of Nations, seem to be asking the country to punish the Republicans for frustrating the work of President Wilson. The Republican platform commits the party to an unshrinking acceptance of its share of international duty. Senator Harding, in his speech of acceptance and in his later discussion, has recognized in a broad and generous way the fact that the United States must stand strongly with the forces that are to maintain order and civilization. Precisely what steps are to be taken, we are very glad to say, Senator Harding does not pretend to know. Since he cannot by any possible chance lay down in detail to-day the exact forms of international relationship that the United States may deem wise one year from now, it would be a shocking disappointment if he were to assume a knowledge that no one possesses.

*Harding
Proposes to
Consult*

Senator Harding dealt with this subject in a remarkably frank and straightforward speech on August 28. He sees that the present League of Nations is not functioning with power and prestige, and he believes that we can do better than to enter the League as it stands. He emphasizes the development of judicial tribunals somewhat in contrast with the League Council, which is in its nature diplomatic and political. Senator Harding intimates that he would favor "calling into conference the ablest and most experienced minds of this country from whatever walks of life they may be derived and without regard to party affiliation, to formulate a definite, practical plan along the lines already indicated for the consideration of the controlling foreign powers." If elected, he hopes to have behind him, "a country wholly united in earnest endeavor to achieve a true solution of this problem upon which the future civilization so largely depends." He



GOVERNOR SMITH OF NEW YORK, WITH GOVERNOR COX OF OHIO

(It was the New York delegation that was especially influential in nominating Governor Cox at San Francisco and defeating Mr. McAdoo. Governor Smith has been renominated in New York without opposition, and the Cox-Roosevelt ticket has behind it the full strength of the New York Democracy)

recognizes the fact that conditions are rapidly changing and declines therefore to be uselessly specific.

*He Would
Make Peace a
Legal Fact*

About one thing of much importance, however, he is bluntly specific. He would "urge prompt passage of the resolution vetoed by the President declaring at an end the preposterous condition of technical war when we are actually at peace." He would advise the immediate resumption by Congress of those "exceptional powers which have been vested by war legislation in the executive." He sees no reason for "finding it necessary or advisable to negotiate a separate peace with Germany," and he proceeds as follows: "In view of the simple fact that the Allied powers with whom we were associated in the war have already concluded their peace, the passage of the peace resolution by Congress would merely give formal recognition to an obvious fact." To sum up then: Senator Harding, if elected, intends to give his principal thought and effort to the problem of America's international policy, and hopes to secure the coöperation of the best minds of the country towards that end. We cannot go back to things as they were two years ago and must deal as well as we can with things as they are now, or rather as we shall find them next year. Senator Harding's analysis of this great issue befits—in its moderation, dignity and breadth—the great office to which he aspires.

*Campaigning
Methods in
Contrast*

How to conduct a presidential campaign is a question that it is easier to ask than to answer. Circumstances have forced it upon public attention. Thus far there has been a marked contrast between the personal methods of the two rival candidates. Senator Harding adopted the plan of spending most of the campaign period at his home in Marion, Ohio, speaking in a careful and deliberate fashion to visiting delegations and relying upon the newspapers to convey his views to the country at large. Governor Cox chose the opposite plan of facing as many audiences as possible in many different States, frequently making a large number of speeches in a single day, and relying upon dexterity and skill in extemporaneous debate. He has been endeavoring to capture his immediate audiences, somewhat regardless of the effect his speeches as reported might make upon millions of readers who were not under the spell of the speaker's voice, manner and magnetic personality. In the give and take of offhand stump speaking, Governor Cox is adept. He knows how to play upon the motives and the prejudices of particular crowds.

*Cox Machine-
guns vs. Hard-
ing Artillery*

For purposes of a very short campaign in a single city or State, the Cox methods are doubtless effective. But such speeches as his are not so convincing in cold type; and it is doubtful whether limitations of time and physical strength will enable him to carry his aggressive methods before a sufficient number of audiences throughout so great a country as this. Senator Harding has also made a few speeches away from home, including a notable visit to Minneapolis and St. Paul. It was announced several weeks ago that he would enter upon a considerable tour of speechmaking near the end of September. As against the comparatively violent attacks of Democratic candidates and speakers, Senator Harding's best chances will lie in his continuing to keep his temper, speaking always with composure and moderation, avoiding personalities, and resisting the temptation to retort in kind. The Cox campaign is one of machine-guns, while Harding uses heavy artillery. It must be remembered that politicians in election time are trying to win votes rather than to find the true solution of public questions. Very little contribution is to be expected toward the solution of difficult problems by the efforts of the rival

speaker's bureaus in the last weeks of a presidential contest. The great object of the party committees is to arouse party spirit and sentiment, to secure the prestige that goes with the confident air of success, to get the voters enrolled and registered, and to see that they do their duty on election day.

*"System" and
"Drive" in
Politics*

The tendency of campaign committees is to make each succeeding campaign more systematic and thorough than its predecessor. The Republican organization is afraid to let the country alone to do its own thinking and voting, lest the Democratic committee should steal a march and win a victory through intensive organization methods. And if the Republican committee takes itself thus seriously, it is plain that the Democratic committee has the same anxieties and feels the same need of being alive and alert. For a number of months past it has been obvious that both great parties were going to be influenced in their campaign methods by the fads and fashions of the numerous war drives, whether for selling liberty bonds, or for securing Red Cross and other relief funds. They have also taken lessons from efficiency engineers and advertising managers. The great "drives" cannot be carried on without expenditures that seem large in the aggregate. In the case of the Republican Party it seems that Chairman Hays and the Executive Committee had finally agreed that they ought to have nearly five million dollars in order to cover all the costs of the kind of campaign they were laying out. This seems to be a great sum of money, and it is quite easy to attack it as something sinister and dangerous.

*Republican
Money-Raising
Plans*

Apparently the Republican finance committees were trying to borrow some of the money-raising methods of the Interchurch World Movement, of the notably successful money campaign of the Methodists, and of the great drives of the Y. M. C. A. and associated organizations. They were assigning quotas to different States and cities, and going about the business on plans approved by semi-professional "drive" experts and "publicity" men. Nothing in the whole history of American politics, so far as campaign funds are concerned, would seem to have been more innocent or even praiseworthy than this money-raising system adopted by the Republicans under the general direction of

Chairman Will Hays. It was not proposed to seek large gifts from special interests, or from wealthy individuals, but to raise sufficient money by obtaining the subscriptions of an unusually large number of citizens. Surely, then, there was nothing reprehensible in the plans that were made for obtaining the money. But how could so large a sum of money be used in the election without impropriety? Governor Cox and his associates startled the country by declaring that they were in possession of evidence that the Republicans were raising an immense fund with which to corrupt the electorate and buy control of the Government.

Some
Preliminary
Statistics

The charges were made so boldly and so insistently that they became the chief sensation, not of one day only, but of a good many successive days. What became of those charges we shall proceed to discuss in a further paragraph. Meanwhile, however, quite apart from the Democratic charges to the effect that the Republican campaign fund was intended for unlawful and corrupt use, let us apply some statistical tests and suggest some comparisons. First, then, we have more than 100,000,000 people by the new census in our forty-eight States. We have something like five thousand counties, with, let us say a hundred thousand neighborhoods great and small, whether municipalities, townships, villages, or lesser districts. Assuming that

we have 100,000 neighborhoods, it is plain that they have an average population of 1000 each. A campaign fund of \$5,000,000 would allow the sum of \$50 to each neighborhood of 1000 people. This amounts to exactly five cents for each person, or twenty-five cents for each family of five people. Having now enfranchised all the women of the country, we have, approximately 40,000,000 voters. That is to say, there are 400 voters in every neighborhood of a thousand people and two on the average in each family of five. A campaign fund of \$5,000,000 if evenly distributed would allow for the expenditure of about 12 cents for each voter. Under our peculiarly complex American system, furthermore, we are carrying on a great many State, county, and local campaigns as a part of the general struggle between the parties. And it was proposed this year to raise and distribute party funds in such a way that the Republican contributor in a given county would be called upon for one inclusive gift to support the party cause, rather than for a gift to the national campaign, another gift to the State campaign, another to help the county ticket, and another for the expense fund of this, that or the other local candidate.

Increased
Cost of
Campaigns

Let it be further understood that political campaign committees are relying more and more upon appeals to the voter's convictions through the distribution of printed arguments and like methods. Paper and printing this year are costing several times as much as they cost a few years ago. Whereas at one period the railroads transported political speakers on free passes, every political worker to-day must pay the regular transportation charges. A number of the speakers on both sides who give all of their time to campaigning must not only have their railroad and hotel bills paid, but must be allowed something for their time. The great majority of speakers, it need not be said, do not ask or receive compensation. Undoubtedly in the distribution and expenditure of campaign funds there is always a good deal of waste. Thus, much of the printed matter that is spread broadcast reaches people who do not read it. Many speeches are made, where campaign funds pay for the hiring of halls, which do not convert any voters. But when all is said and done, an average expenditure of \$50 for every neighborhood of 1000 people in the country is not likely to pro-



MOTHER'S BUSY NOW

From Newspaper Enterprise Association (Cleveland, O.)
[The women's vote accounts for much of the effort of both campaign committees to raise money and distribute "literature"]

duce much perceptible corrupting of the electorate. There is no evidence whatsoever that any of the plans of Chairman Hays or his associates for the expenditure of money were either unlawful or in violation of scrupulous standards of political ethics.

*Methods
Vastly
Improved*

Is there anything in the recent disclosures about campaign funds that should cause alarm or anxiety in the circles of those who believe in clean and honest political methods? We are glad to answer that there is nothing whatsoever of that sort. On the contrary, those of us who have good memories and a long familiarity with politics ought to be deeply gratified as we note the present wholesome tendencies, in contrast with methods that once prevailed. It was once an accepted fact that special interests contributed large sums for political success, and then demanded the right to fix particular clauses in tariff schedules to suit their own views. Financial corporations contributed great sums on the theory that their views about banking and currency were good for the country and must prevail. It will not do for the Democrats to assert that those old days of so-called slush funds are blemishes upon the record of one party only. Their own political history is at least as bad. Our point is that there has been wholesome improvement all along the line of honesty in elections and decency in campaign methods.

*The Cox
Charges
as Specific*

Now as to the particular charges made by Governor Cox and others directing the Democratic campaign. The seriousness of these allegations does not lie at all in their exaggerated statements regarding the maximum sums that certain agents of the Republican committee had suggested as desirable. The gravity of the charges has to do with the sources of the money and the underlying motives. The Democratic party had set out to win the labor vote. It was proceeding upon the theory that employees have more votes than employers, and that the workers might vote the Democratic ticket if they were made to believe that the capitalists were putting up their money to elect Harding. The charge, therefore, that the Republicans were raising a fund of \$15,000,000, chiefly from corporation heads and capitalists, carried with it the suggestion that a Republican administration was expected to be ready to use force in the interests of capital as against labor in case

of railroad strikes, steel strikes, coal strikes and other great industrial disturbances. There is not the smallest reason to suppose that Senator Harding, if elected President, would go beyond the line of his authority and his duty in the maintenance of order. The main body of workmen in the United States has more to lose than any other class from the menace of the Bolshevistic and disorderly elements. Governor Cox himself is a man of large means and business success, and it is not reasonable to suppose that he has any more solicitude for the welfare of wage-earners than has his Republican opponent. Both men have been regarded as holding generous and progressive views on industrial issues.

*Work of the
Kenyon
Committee*

Our readers will remember quite well that during the primary election campaigns in the spring and early summer there was much criticism of the raising of funds to promote the candidacy of General Wood, Governor Lowden, and others in both parties. A Senate Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Kenyon of Iowa, promptly investigated the use of money in the presidential primaries; and before the adjournment of Congress this committee was authorized by the Senate to hold sessions during the presidential campaign and to use its discretion in keeping track of the financial methods of the party organizations. This Kenyon Committee was in session at Chicago, and was therefore prepared to take up immediately the allegations of Governor Cox as echoed by members of the Democratic national committee. Chairman Hays of the Republican national committee, Treasurer Upham, and various others were thoroughly cross-examined. Chairman White of the Democratic national committee and others representing Governor Cox also gave their testimony. The exhaustive ventilation of the charges by the Kenyon Committee was a public service of notable importance. It showed that the Democratic charges were merely inferences and without substantial basis. Governor Cox had apparently been misled by certain unauthorized circulars or letters that had fallen into his hands; and these were readily explained away by Mr. Upham, Mr. Hays and others. The points in controversy had to do chiefly with the quotas that were said to have been assigned to different States and cities as maximum amounts for the local money raisers to have in mind, as in Liberty Loan drives.



THE KENYON COMMITTEE AT CHICAGO, INVESTIGATING GOVERNOR COX'S CHARGES ABOUT REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN FUNDS

(From left to right, are Senators Edge, of New Jersey; Spencer, of Missouri; Kenyon, of Iowa; Pomerene, of Ohio, and Reed, of Missouri)

*Discreditable
Tactics but
Clever*

Far more serious than mere assertions about the size of campaign funds is the appeal to class prejudice at this time. The interests of wage earners are especially bound up with the maintenance of public order and national prosperity. As somebody wisely remarked the other day, if Bolshevism in Russia has succeeded in making the rich poor, it has not succeeded in making the poor rich. A diffusion of prosperity is to be desired above all things, but such diffusion will not be brought about by industrial strife or class movements in politics. From the standpoint of political strategy the Democratic attacks upon the Republican plans for collecting and using money are easily explained. Advantage is supposed to accrue to the side that takes the aggressive and throws its opponent upon the defensive. False charges, if made with sufficient boldness, travel fast and create prejudices. And, although the charges may be disproved to the satisfaction of intelligent and thoughtful men, it is hard to undo the mischief, for most voters are not thoughtful. Such tactics, however effective for vote-getting purposes, are not creditable whether used by one party or by another. We should condemn them as promptly and severely if used by the Republicans as we now condemn their employment by the Democrats.

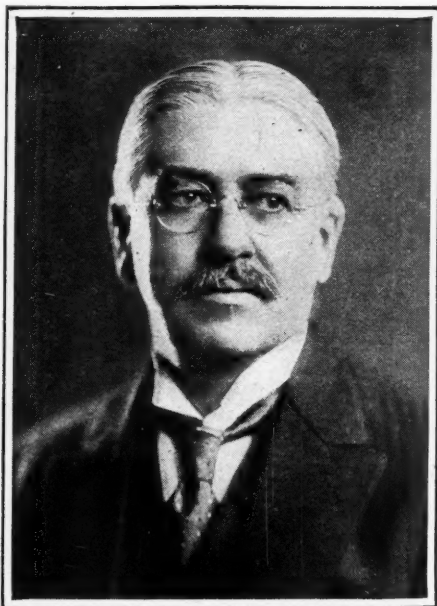
*High Cost of
Public
Movements*

In view of the recent doubling of the electorate, the growth of population, the employment of new but legitimate methods, and the great increase in the cost of printing and other services, there is no reason to regard the budgets of either national committee as excessive. All efforts to canvass the country

for a public cause are more expensive than ever before. The Republicans on their part are refusing to receive gifts in excess of \$1000 from single subscribers. The Democrats have fixed no limit. Having been in power for eight years, the Democrats have some clear advantages on their side. There is a natural tendency on the part of the immense body of federal officers to oppose rather than to favor a party change. The leaders of powerful labor organizations are working for the Cox ticket with disciplined instrumentalities under their control. Upon the whole, however, both parties are compelled to make their appeal to the untrammelled convictions of many millions of voters who cannot be corrupted. Mud-slinging is wholly out of place in view of the issues that lie before us.

*Senatorial
Contests*

It would be useless a month before election day to offer predictions. Both sides are making claims and neither shows signs of discouragement. To turn from the presidential to other contests, we may consider first the senatorial elections. There are Senators to be chosen in thirty-two States, with an additional seat from Alabama to be filled on account of a vacancy caused by death. Of the seats to be filled, eighteen are now held by Democrats and fifteen by Republicans. In Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, Democrats will of course be chosen practically without opposition. In the Democratic primaries to select candidates, Senator Gore of Oklahoma and Senator Kirby of Arkansas, both of whom had opposed the Wilson policies, were replaced by Wilson men. In



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HON. NATHAN L. MILLER, OF NEW YORK
(Nominated for the governorship in the Republican primaries on September 14, to run against Governor Smith)

like manner, Breckenridge Long, a Wilson man, was nominated in Missouri largely on the League of Nations issue. In Georgia, on the other hand, after a spirited contest, Thomas E. Watson, a bitter antagonist of the Wilson policies, was nominated as against Senator Hoke Smith and Governor Dorsey, the latter being the Administration champion.

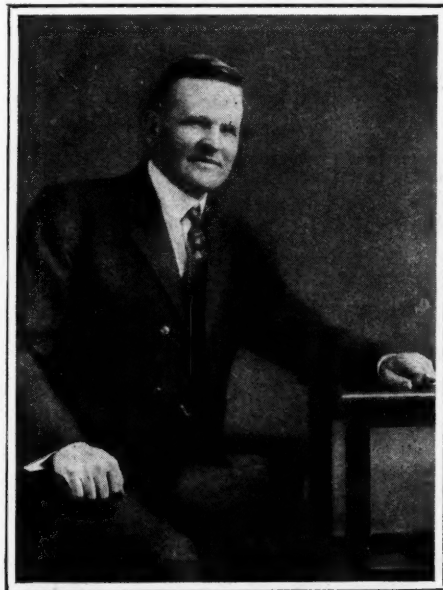
*Republican
Senators
Endorsed*

In the Wisconsin primaries, Senator Lenroot was renominated in the face of determined opposition, and his Democratic opponent will be Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, recently Minister to China. The attempt to defeat Senator Cummins in the Republican primaries of Iowa was unavailing, and he will almost certainly be reelected in November. Likewise the fight of certain labor elements against Senator Curtis of Kansas as also against Governor Allen in the primaries proved a flat failure. Four years ago Kansas gave a Democratic majority for President Wilson of 36,930 votes. The indications this year are clearly Republican. In New Hampshire Senator Moses, who as a Republican had strongly opposed the Wilson policies, was renominated by a decisive majority under circumstances which seemed to indicate a marked swing toward Republi-

canism in New England. In Indiana the contest at the polls between Senator Watson and former Senator Thomas Taggart will probably be decided by the votes of the Hoosier women. Ex-Governor Willis has been named for the senatorship in Ohio to succeed Harding, and his Democratic opponent is Mr. W. A. Julian, of Cincinnati.

*Optimism of
Harding
Forces*

With both presidential candidates from that State, the Ohio senatorial contest, as well as that for the governorship, will be dominated by the larger issue. The Republicans were much more confident in September of holding their control of the Senate and increasing their majority than they were in August. No effective opposition had developed within party lines against the reelection of Brandegee of Connecticut and Wadsworth of New York, whose hopes were strengthened by the victory of Moses in the New Hampshire primaries. The New York State primaries were held on September 14, and, as it had been fully anticipated, Judge Nathan L. Miller was named for Governor and Senator Wadsworth secured his renomination. The Democrats renominated Governor Alfred E. Smith, and the present Lieutenant-Governor, Harry C. Walker, was selected to run against Senator Wadsworth. While



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SENATOR IRVINE L. LENROOT, OF WISCONSIN
(Who was renominated in the Republican primaries of his State by a decisive majority)

it is the business of experienced editors to avoid making predictions, it is a part of the work of campaign committees to carry on preliminary canvasses and to announce optimistic results. Thus, early in September, the Republican headquarters officials predicted that Colorado, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, and Ohio would swing strongly into the Republican column, and that Harding and Coolidge would receive 346 electoral votes as against 185 for Cox and Roosevelt. Certain eminent Republicans were also predicting a majority of eight or ten in the Senate and of a hundred in the House of Representatives.

"As Goes
Maine, So
Goes," etc.

More important, however, as an indication of party drift than any other circumstance preliminary to the November voting is the State election in Maine, according to all political traditions. Maine adheres to the plan of holding her State election in September. In presidential years this September election by common consent is influenced by national issues, and it enlists the earnest efforts of both parties. This year the Maine election was held on Monday, September 13. For some



HON. THOMAS E. WATSON, OF GEORGIA, A FAMOUS CHAMPION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

(Mr. Watson, who has long fought against the conservative elements in his State, has this year won the nomination for the Senate by a majority over both of his principal opponents)

time in advance many political speakers of national repute were brought into Maine to support opposing sides. In September, 1916, Governor Milliken, Republican, carried the State by about 13,000. He was reelected in



W. A. JULIAN, OF OHIO
(Democratic nominee for
Senator)



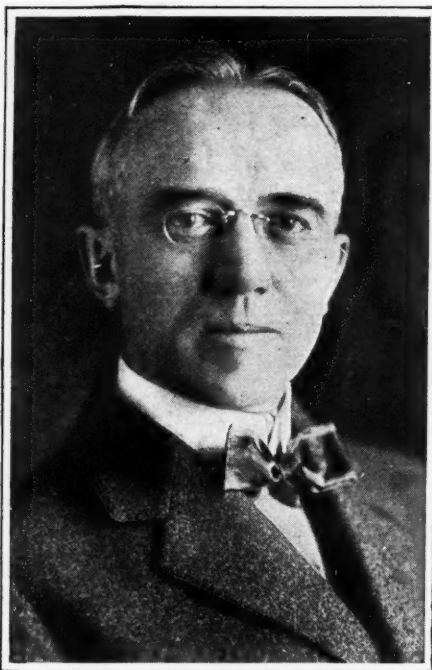
FRANK B. WILLIS, OF OHIO
(Republican nominee for
Senator)



© Baker Art Gallery
A. V. DONAHEY, OF OHIO
(Democratic nominee for
Governor)



HARRY L. DAVIS, OF OHIO
(Republican nominee for
Governor)



Photograph by Bachrach

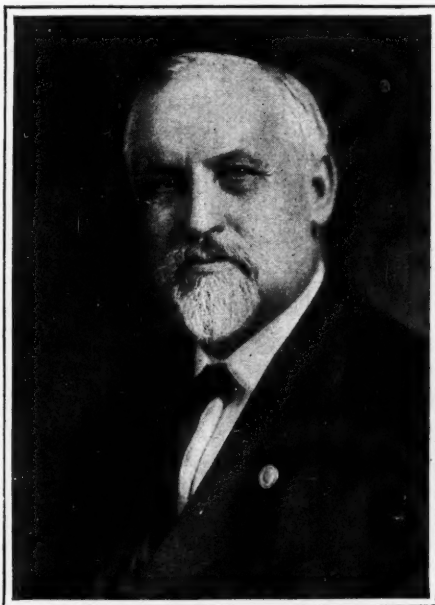
HON. FREDERIC H. PARKHURST, GOVERNOR-ELECT
OF MAINE

(Mr. Parkhurst headed the Republican State ticket in the September election that attracted national attention as forecasting the November results)

1918 by a reduced plurality of 5545. The vote of women contributed a new element of uncertainty upon which, however, the Republicans counted more confidently than did the Democrats. The Democrats were basing their hopes largely upon allegations against Col. Frederic H. Parkhurst, the Republican candidate for Governor, who is a leather manufacturer of Bangor. It was attempted to show that certain transactions of his firm in connection with war contracts were discreditable. This effort to smirch the candidate seems to have been wholly unjustified by the facts, as fully set forth by the candidate and his supporters. When the count was made it appeared that instead of the expected 25,000 majority Colonel Parkhurst had about 65,000. The Republicans had polled nearly twice as many votes as the Democrats. They had carried all the Congress districts and every seat in the State Senate. The women voters had shown remarkable preference for the Republican side. That the result pointed toward decisive Republican success in November could not be denied by any experienced political observer.

*Politics
in the
West*

Reports from the West, where the Republican cause met its defeat four years ago, are at least more favorable to the Republicans this year than in the Hughes-Wilson campaign. This is not only true in the States of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, but in the mountain commonwealths and on the Coast. The situation in California is of particular interest because the unexpected action of the State four years ago was what gave Wilson his second term. Hiram Johnson, running at that time on a Republican ticket for the United States Senate, had a plurality of about 300,000, while on final count, as a complete surprise to everybody, Wilson rather than Hughes carried the presidential electoral ticket. The California Republicans are naturally determined to do their best to prevent such a divergence this year. The general political complexion of California appears to be strongly Republican. A prominent San Francisco lawyer, Samuel M. Shortridge, has received the Republican nomination for the Senate as against Senator Phelan, who is the Democratic candidate for another term.



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DR. EDWIN F. LADD, OF NORTH DAKOTA

(Dr. Ladd is an eminent agricultural chemist, who has been connected with the North Dakota College of Agriculture and Experiment Station for thirty years, and for several years past has been president of the college. In the recent Republican primaries he defeated Senator Gronna for renomination, having had the support of the farmers and the Non-Partisan League. Like Tom Watson, he will be an interesting new personality in the make-up of the Senate)

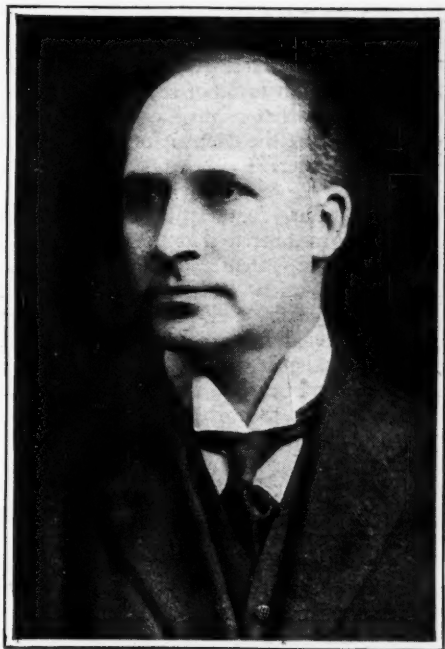
Mr. Phelan enjoys an excellent reputation at home and has made a good record at Washington. Although Mr. Shortridge formerly opposed Hiram Johnson, he declined to favor a Hoover delegation to the Chicago Convention this year and gave strong support to Senator Johnson's presidential candidacy. It is reasonable to suppose that Johnson's influence and efforts will be available in California on behalf of the Harding-Coolidge national ticket and the senatorial campaign of Mr. Shortridge. To what extent California's ideas about oriental immigration, about the tariff, and about the League of Nations may affect this year's voting, it would seem quite impossible to forecast. Gov. Cox last month campaigned intensively in the West, and notably on the Coast.

*Ireland
Still in
Turmoil*

The situation in Ireland was not improving through August and the first half of September.

While the Belfast riots had been on a larger scale than those in other places, there had been in various towns and villages a sad multiplicity of cases of arson, of murder, and of law-breaking in various forms. Apart from the Belfast riots, the chief point of interest in the news had been the hunger strike of the Lord Mayor of Cork, Mr. Terence MacSwiney, who had been arrested as a Sinn Feiner and a leading supporter of the Irish Republic and had been transported from Ireland to a prison in London. He had refused to take food, and his condition was bulletined from day to day on the front pages of newspapers throughout the world. All kinds of pressure had been brought to bear, notably by heads of the British labor movement, to secure from Mr. Lloyd George and from the Irish Secretary, Sir Hamar Greenwood, the release of MacSwiney. But the British authorities were unyielding on their side, and the Irishman was persistent in his refusal to take food. His attitude was based upon his denial of the right of the British authorities to arrest and deport him. The former Liberal Premier, Mr. Asquith, pronounced the unrelenting position of the British Ministry "a political blunder of the first magnitude." Meanwhile, various other Irish leaders were carrying on hunger strikes in Irish jails. It was declared that MacSwiney's death would be followed by reprisals, and it was more than plainly intimated that the Irish Republic would pronounce a death sentence on Sir Hamar Greenwood and undertake to execute it. All these recent incidents have been

Oct.—2



SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND

(A few months ago, in the thickening troubles of Irish administration, it was decided to put a new man in the British cabinet post that controls Irish affairs. Sir Hamar Greenwood is a Canadian, and for that reason was regarded as having a broad, liberal outlook, while inclined toward the Dominion form of Home Rule. He was born and educated in Canada and was an official in the Ontario government before going to England, where he became a practising barrister. He was a lieutenant-colonel in the war and was made a baronet in 1915. He has been a member of the House of Commons for ten years)

adding new difficulties to old ones, so that the path of reconciliation seems quite impassable.

*Ireland in the
American
Campaign*

It does not appear that the Irish question is to have much bearing upon our American elections. At St. Paul last month a man in the audience put the following question: "Governor Cox, if you are elected President, will you recognize the Irish Republic?" The Governor is quoted in the *New York Times* as having replied in the following words: "I am in favor of the application of the principle of self-determination in Japan, in China, in Turkey, in Ireland, or anywhere else." The report proceeds to say that the Governor then declared that he thought the question had been fully answered. The Irish leaders endeavored to have this particular question answered in the affirmative by the platform framers at Chicago and San Fran-

cisco, but were not successful, although there were many strong supporters of the proposal to recognize the Irish Republic. Governor Cox says he is in favor of self-determination anywhere, and that might mean that he was ready to support the doctrine of self-determination for Ulster.

*Ireland
and the
League*

But, further, it should be remembered that the Irish leaders are intense opponents of the League of Nations, while Governor Cox sets the League above all else in his program. The unamended League as he advocates it might fairly be regarded as obligating the United States in certain circumstances to use its armed forces to prevent attacks upon the integrity of the British Empire. Senator Harding, on the other hand, in his great speech of August 28, declared for the doctrine of political evolution, and was unwilling to enter a League which might interfere with the achievement of independence by one people or another, precisely as we declared our own independence in 1776. Taking the Harding doctrines throughout, they would seem more favorable to the contentions of Ireland than the Cox doctrines. But the Republicans at Chicago distinctly refused to assume responsibility for the pretensions of the so-called Irish Republic, and the Democrats, even if less frank about it, have sidestepped the issue. Neither party is taking up the cause of Ireland as against Great Britain. As we have repeatedly stated, there is no real American public opinion that has definite views about the tangled Irish situation, as respects any particular form of settlement.

*Giving
Egypt Her
Independence*

The British Government was of course bound to have many problems of imperial readjustment to solve as a part of the aftermath of the Great War. For a good while before the war England had been in actual control of the foreign relations and the larger domestic policies of Egypt. Nevertheless Egypt was not officially considered a part of the British Empire. After the war began, in 1914, Egypt was openly annexed, with the announcement of a British protectorate. This status of Egypt was recognized in the Versailles treaty and duly accepted by Germany. England's more recent troubles about Egypt have not resulted from any outside influence or pressure, but wholly from discontent within that country. Egypt

was so important a British military base during the war that the so-called Nationalist leaders were kept quiet. But they were very conspicuous at Paris during the Peace Conference, and their anti-British propaganda was incessant. Since their failure at Paris, they have made life miserable for British officials in Egypt and have kept up a continual agitation. They have had their agents in the United States and their champions on the floor of the Senate at Washington. Early in the present year the British Government sent a commission under Lord Milner to study all phases of the actual Egyptian situation. It is reported that as a result of this commission the independence of Egypt will soon be announced. According to the *London Times*, this independence will be limited at every point where British interests are concerned, so that it will operate only to diminish the activity of British officials in ordinary internal administration. England would still control the Suez Canal and would retain Egypt as an ally and protégé, no other outside power being allowed to interfere in Egyptian affairs. Undoubtedly the British régime in Egypt for many years past has been highly beneficial to the inhabitants, when set in contrast with former periods under Turkish suzerainty, with their bad memories of oppressive rule on the part of the tax-gatherers and other agents of the Khedive.

*Moslem
Unrest in
General*

A part of the agitation in Egypt has been due to anti-Christian propaganda throughout the Mohammedan world. The treatment of Turkey subsequent to the war has inflamed the antagonism of the followers of Mohammed, who have been particularly incensed because of the practical annexation of Mesopotamia and Palestine by the British and by the acquisitions of influence or territory by Frenchmen and Greeks at the expense of Turks and Arabs. This awakening of the Moslem world against Christendom and particularly against the British, has spread to India where there are about 70,000,000 Mohammedans as against more than 200,000,000 Buddhists. Heretofore the agitation against British rule in India has been chiefly led by Buddhists who were not on good terms with the Mohammedan provinces and states. But the anti-British agitation has now been made a common cause; and the nationalistic movement is less hampered by creed and caste than ever before.

*British
India
Prosperous*

Many natives of India are declaring that in the early future there will be a *Sinn Fein* movement in India of many times greater magnitude than that which now holds Ireland in revolt. The British Government undoubtedly wishes to give India as much home rule as can be advantageously used in a practical way. We adhere to the view that the political connection between Great Britain and India is of far more value to the Indian peoples than it is to the British. Poverty and illiteracy still prevail in India, and great parts of the country often seem on the verge of starvation; but the one source of important mitigation has been found in British policy. Unquestionably India may have just as much of political freedom and independence as she can find it beneficial to put into practice. Prosperity and safety are associated with the British direction of India's official policies.

*China
Facing a
Famine*

Whereas India is relatively immune from the great epidemics and famines of earlier periods, such emancipation has not yet been achieved by India's great neighbor, China. At this moment the Chinese are facing the prospect of one of the most decimating famines in the history of Asia. Throughout Shantung and several neighboring provinces the crops upon which perhaps 40,000,000 people were relying for their food have almost totally failed. The Chinese Government is trying to do something, but has neither the financial resources nor the transportation facilities to meet the situation, except in a limited way. Last month Hon. Charles R. Crane, the American Minister at Peking, took the leading part in trying to devise means to secure foreign aid. Civil war and general political disorder in China have paralyzed national efficiency. The result of midsummer fighting seems to be the elimination of the most obstructive element; and there is prospect of the restoration of unity between North and South China after a number of years of virtual separation. The Japanese claim that they are no more guilty of fomenting disorder in China for their own benefit than the Government of the United States is guilty of stimulating disorder in Mexico as a policy that might benefit this country. Meanwhile, Japan cannot afford to invite Chinese boycotts, or to increase by harsh measures the growing irritation of the Koreans.

*The
Far East
Unsettled*

An American Congressional delegation was visiting in Japan last month. The apparent effect of all recent tours of inspection on the part of prominent Americans in Japan and of Japanese in America has been valuable as helping to support good relations and to find ways of peaceful coöperation for the future. China in particular is dependent upon the establishment of a common policy in relation to the Far East, by Japan, the United States and Great Britain. The political destinies of Eastern Siberia and Manchuria are now too much involved in the uncertainties of the Russian empire to be adjusted upon the basis of any program that can now be laid down. Everyone now sees that Northern Asia, as well as Central and Eastern Europe, has entered upon processes of reconstruction that may require a good many years for completion.

*Russia
Under a
Heavy Yoke*

It would be gratifying if it were possible to give a clear and simple account of the present situation in Russia. Mr. Simonds writes for our readers this month with convincing analysis concerning the defeat of the Russian Red armies that were about to take Warsaw and crush the new Republic of Poland. But there seems to be a war of similar magnitude going on within Russia between the military forces of General Wrangel, who has formed an anti-Bolshevist Government in South Russia, and the armies of Lenine and Trotzky. The French have recognized General Wrangel and in one way or in another are trying to promote his success. The British Government seems to have been wavering and indecisive in its attitude toward all phases of Russian activity. This British policy is due chiefly to the powerful influence of the Labor party, which favors intercourse with the Russian Reds. It is understood, also, that British commercial interests have been so eager for Russian trade that they were willing to accept the Bolsheviks, upon terms favorable to the expansion of imports and exports. General Wrangel, like the French Government, expressed great satisfaction in the note transmitted to the Italian Government by the American Secretary of State, Mr. Colby, on Bolshevism. He declared that the Russian people were held in terrorized subjection to the Reds, and that they would repudiate Bolshevism as soon as they had recovered the right to act freely and



ANOTHER ATTACHMENT

JOHN BULL (to Mlle. France): "Fancy you, after all we've been to each other, throwing me over for this fellow Wrangel!"

From *London Opinion* (London, England)

govern themselves. Evidently Bolshevism has brought Russia to a state of economic misery. As an agricultural country, however, Communism must surely fail in the near future, because peasant ownership of land is by far the strongest economic influence that can affect the destinies of the Russian people during the present generation. The Bolshevik propaganda has been aggressive in various ways. Thus it appeared last month that the Russian Soviet agents were endeavoring to subsidize the British labor press, presumably following the course they had pursued in continental countries. It seems that the Moscow rulers had been intently studying the great strike movement that was impending in England, and that the Italian situation was also regarded as bolshevistic and Russian in spirit if not in direct incitement.

Industrial Aggression in Italy

The surprising industrial developments that were reported in dispatches from Italy last month were not easy to interpret. Early impressions were to the effect that the labor unions of Italy had suddenly embraced Bolshevism, and by a concerted movement had seized great numbers of manufacturing plants, especially those working in metals; but

further reports modified this supposition. Italy has suffered terribly since the war from lack of fuel and raw materials with which to carry on her industries. The aggressive action of the labor unions was probably not regarded by them as permanent confiscation, with denial of the rightful ownership of capitalists. It was rather a strategic move, in the face of an impending shutdown of factories, in order to keep the wheels turning and to avert the calamity of unemployment. The Labor Syndicates evidently believed that they could tide over the situation—as respects materials, fuel, and transportation—better than could the employers.

Giolitti at the Helm

The movement was so sweeping and so well co-ordinated that the veteran statesman Giolitti, who had again become Prime Minister, could not venture to take drastic measures. Troops would not have obeyed orders, perchance. Neither would the railway workers have transported troops to put down the workmen who had seized the factories. The movement did not, however, seem to bear marks of permanence. It merely indicated in a fresh way the extraordinary difficulties under which Europe is laboring, in its endeavor to reconstruct the industrial fabric that was disrupted by the war. Premier Giolitti, by the way, will be seventy-eight years old this month. He has had several previous periods as head of the Cabinet, but he was defeated some five years ago because he tried to keep Italy neutral.



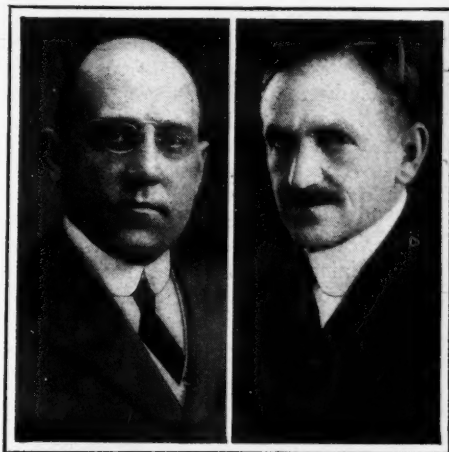
THE NEW "RUSSIAN STEAM ROLLER"
From the *Passing Show* (London)

*Obregon
As Mexico's
President*

The presidential campaign in Mexico was a very casual affair, when compared with that of this country. General Obregon, who had been the real master of the country since the overthrow and assassination of President Carranza, was of course quite sure to be elected if he so desired. It turned out that he was the real candidate, and meant to be President. The opposition candidate was Alfredo R. Dominguez. General Obregon called himself a Liberal Constitutionalist. Senor Dominguez was known as a Republican Nationalist. Both candidates ran on platforms favoring good relations with foreign countries and a liberal policy as regards immigration and the investment of foreign capital. They differed with regard to Carranza's constitution of 1917. Obregon favored retaining that instrument, while his opponent favored a convention to draft and adopt a new constitution. The election occurred on Sunday, September 5. It is believed in Washington that General Obregon's intentions are to protect American lives and property, and to bring about a restoration of good relations.

*Affairs
in Latin
America*

Upon the whole, the Latin-American republics are making some political progress along with marked gains in commerce and wealth. Our especially prosperous neighbor Cuba will hold a presidential election on Monday, November 1. This will be the first to be



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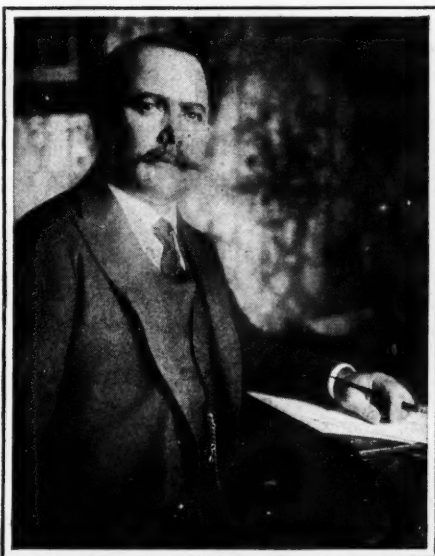
HON. JOHN BARRETT

DR. LEO S. ROWE

held under the new election laws that were recently framed by General Crowder. Dr. Alfredo Zayas, who was once a leader of the Liberals, has now accepted the Conservative nomination to succeed President Menocal, himself a Conservative. The Liberals are running General Gomez, who has been President before and for a good while the dictator of the party that he now represents. From South America comes the unverified rumor that Chile and Peru are at the point of settling the Tacna-Arica controversy.

*Mr. Barrett
and
Dr. Rowe*

After almost fourteen years of service as Director General of the Pan-American Union, Mr. John Barrett has retired, and he is succeeded in that post by Dr. Leo S. Rowe. Mr. Barrett, who had previously made himself an authority on the Far East through diplomatic service, began to specialize in Latin-American affairs twenty years ago. His efforts have been so strikingly useful and successful that we shall in a later number give due space to the story of the development under his leadership of organized Pan-Americanism. His successor, Dr. Rowe, has had much experience—as an official and as a student of international politics—in Latin-American countries, and he has recently held important posts in the Treasury Department and the State Department, where he has specialized in matters affecting our relations with the Latin-American countries. Mr. Barrett, in retiring, congratulates the country upon the appointment of so well-qualified a successor as his friend Dr. Rowe.



GENERAL OBREGON, NEW PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

*The Great
French
Loan*

The present unprecedented conditions of the investment market were strikingly shown in the loan made by the French Government in the United States a few weeks ago. The occasion of the huge issue of French bonds offered to American investors was preparation for the coming payment of France's share of the \$500,000,000 Anglo-French bonds sold in America five years ago, when the Allies were straining every financial nerve to raise money to prosecute the war against the Central Powers. France is now ready to pay off \$150,000,000 of her half of the original loan from funds she has scraped together by one means or another, and the new issue of \$100,000,000 of bonds enables her to clean up the old score. The remarkable part of the new issue was the terms needed to interest investors in these days of world credit strained almost to the breaking point. These French bonds pay 8 per cent. interest and run for no less than twenty-five years, with sinking fund provisions for calling the bonds that will give some holders an even higher return. This long term was a new but essential consideration in interesting American investors. Many issues of sound securities have been offered this year yielding 7 or 8 per cent., but in nearly every case they have been for short terms—three, five, or ten years—the borrowers counting on such a change from the present abnormal conditions of money and credit, before the bonds came due, as would allow them to make new issues at much lower rates of interest.

*Opportunities
for Small
Investors*

In the present instance the sum desired was so large and the investment market was so flooded already with securities offering high yields that the long term was considered absolutely necessary to attract investors. This had all the more force because of the practical impossibility of selling any large portion of these high-yield bonds to very wealthy men. For such is the operation of the personal income tax that a return of 8 per cent. from a taxable bond shrinks to between 3 and 4 per cent. when the super-taxes are paid by individuals with annual incomes of \$150,000 or more. For American investors with incomes under \$40,000, and not subject to the high super-taxes, the opportunities for permanent investment at present are such as would have seemed, only a few years ago, beyond the bounds of possibility. And of these opportunities the new French loan and the re-

cently offered 8 per cent. bonds of the Swiss Republic are two of the most attractive. The success of the French loan was signal and immediate, the subscription books being kept open only for a nominal time, the issue having been over-subscribed before the formal offering.

*Splendid
Industrial
Recovery*

It was, of course, necessary to inform Americans of the financial and industrial status of France, after the war, before offering such a huge block of new securities issued by a country concerning which the phrases "bled white" and "devastated" have been so often used during the the past three years. With every allowance for the animus and enthusiasm of the gentlemen preparing the way for selling bonds to the public, it is a remarkable record in French reconstruction that they brought to public notice. Of the 11,500 French factories that were destroyed in the war, 3540 are already running again and more than that number are being rebuilt. According to M. André Tardieu, who came to America last month to inform our public of the success of his country's struggle toward rehabilitation, the population of the invaded districts of France, fallen to less than two million at the time of the Armistice, has now risen nearly to the pre-war figure of four million. Houses to shelter 870,000 people have been rebuilt; 13,000 miles of France's famous highways have been repaired, and more than half of the 265,000,000 cubic yards of trench space have been filled in. Two only of the five principal railway lines suffered seriously during the war; on these, 1810 miles of double track were destroyed. All this trackage has been rebuilt, with 1510 bridges, 12 tunnels, and 586 railway stations. They now give the full pre-war service.

*French
Agriculture
and Finance*

It will surprise many Americans to hear that France, before the war, had 70 per cent. of her economic activities centering on the land, her wheat harvest being over half that of the United States. She raised, actually, more potatoes than the United States, and was third among the nations of the world in the production of oats, and fourth in the production of beet sugar. The war killed thousands of her farmers, and rendered useless for the time nearly 10,000,000 acres of farm land. But already her thrifty peasants have cleared and returned to cultivation 3,776,-

000 acres, and the crops for this year promise handsome yields. The financial outlook is certainly somewhat staggering, though there is no doubt that the thrift and pluck of the nation will see it through finally, if there are years of peace and quiet ahead. At the beginning of the war the public debt was 34 billion francs, and to-day the gross debt is no less than 237 billion francs. Only 15 per cent. of this is, however, external debt, with interest charges of less than 2 billion francs. In 1914 France raised by taxation 4,724,000,000 francs; for 1920 taxes will aggregate 18,700,000 francs.

*For Trade
with
Germany*

Admiral Benson, chairman of the Shipping Board, is displaying force and decision in grappling with the crucial problems arising out of the nation's great investments in the building of an American merchant marine fleet. A new move that has already aroused controversy of a serious nature is the arrangement, sanctioned by the Shipping Board, between the German Hamburg-American Line and the American shipping interests controlled by W. Averell Harriman, for a prompt reopening of the old trade routes of the formerly great and famous German company, under conditions which give the American partners in the plan the benefit of the technical training and facilities of the German organization. Certain provisions looking to secure American control have seemed quite inadequate to many well informed critics. The agreement runs for twenty years, and under it the Hamburg-American company acts in German ports as agent for the American company, and the latter acts in American ports as agent for the German company. The contract provides that in opening up any trade route the American company is to furnish the vessels necessary for the first service; then, as trade develops, the Hamburg-American organization will put in vessels up to the amount of American tonnage, with subsequent ships furnished half by one party and half by the other. It is said the German company has now nearly 200,000 tons of shipping to use in this way, while the Harriman interests own or control nearly 400,000 tons and operate 200,000 tons of United States Shipping Board vessels. Mr. W. Averell Harriman, the leading spirit in this much debated venture, is a very young man, son of the late E. H. Harriman. Though of quiet and



© Paul Thompson

MR. WILLIAM AVERELL HARRIMAN, OF NEW YORK

modest personality, he has much of his father's imagination and force.

*Our Present
Shipping
Position*

Whether or not it was wise for us to create, by main force, a great mercantile marine fleet for the nation, we went ahead to do it at the cost of billions of dollars spent during the years when a dollar would buy less than at any other time in a half-century. And now things must be done—big things, and they must be done quickly—if the nation is to get any sort of reasonable return for its billions. Our sea-going tonnage is now 10,400,000 tons more than in 1914—an advance of over 500 per cent. In spite of this, and of the frantic building of ships in the British yards, the world's steel steam merchant fleet is estimated to be 3,500,000 tons less than it would have been but for the losses and the interrupted building occasioned by the war. In spite of our phenomenal growth, the British merchant marine is still larger than the American, the total shipping of the United States being placed at 16,049,000 tons and Great Britain's at 18,330,000 tons. During the last year alone the United States added three million tons to its holdings. Germany was in second place in 1914 as a sea-going nation, with five million tons. To-day, after her losses by capture, sinking, requisition, and allocation to the allies, her total marine is down to 419,000 tons.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

From August 15, to September 14, 1920

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 16.—The United States Shipping Board approves an agreement between German and American shipping companies for reviving the old Hamburg-American Line routes.

August 17.—The North Carolina Senate votes 25 to 23 to postpone action on the Nineteenth (woman suffrage) Amendment until the next regular session of the legislature in 1921.

Secretary Post of the Labor Department orders a reorganization of the Immigration Service.

August 18.—The Tennessee House concurs in the Senate resolution ratifying federal woman suffrage, 49 to 47, completing ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment by the necessary thirty-six states.

Immigration reports show an influx of 5000 persons a day at the port of New York; 800,000 entered the United States in the past twelve months.

August 19.—The New York Public Service Commission permits a freight rate increase of 40 per cent. on intrastate commerce, but forbids the raising of passenger or milk rates. . . . New Jersey approves the railway rate raises.

August 20.—Speaking at South Bend, Ind., Governor Cox charges that at least \$15,000,000 is being contributed to the Republican campaign fund.

August 23.—Mr. Kenyon, chairman of the Senate campaign funds committee, requests Governor Cox to prove his charge that the Republicans are raising a \$15,000,000 fund to buy and control the presidency.

August 25.—The Republican primaries in Montana give former Senator J. M. Dixon the nomination for Governor; the Democrats nominate B. K. Wheeler with Non-Partisan League endorsement.

The Interstate Commerce Commission lowers grain freight rates 3 cents per 100 pounds via Lake water routes to relieve railroad congestion. . . . Increased railroad freight and passenger rates go into effect throughout the country.

August 28.—The Secretary of State proclaims the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment (permitting women to vote) by three-fourths of the States, and certifies its validity as a part of the United States Constitution.

Senator Reed Smoot is renominated by the Utah State Republican Convention. . . . Idaho Democrats renominate Senator John F. Nugent and designate T. A. Walters for Governor; the Republicans nominate F. R. Gooding for Senator and renominate Governor E. W. Davis.

Gordon Woodbury, of New Hampshire, becomes assistant Secretary of the Navy, succeeding Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic nominee for Vice-President.

Senator Harding declares in favor of strengthening the Hague Tribunal and maintaining world

peace by law rather than by force, taking the best features of both existing world agreements for the maintenance of peace. . . . Governor Cox renews his charge that Republicans are gathering a huge sum for the campaign.

In Texas Democratic primaries, Pat M. Neff, of Waco, defeats ex-Senator Joseph W. Bailey for the Governorship.

August 30.—President Wilson approves the majority report of the Anthracite Wage Commission awarding 17 to 20 per cent. increases in pay; he warns the miners that he will not set aside the judgment of the board.

Chairman Hays tells the Senate campaign fund committee that the Republican budget is only \$3,079,037.20, and \$1,000,000 more is yet to be raised for State purposes.

August 31.—Fred W. Upham, Treasurer of the Republican National Committee, testifies that the total budget is \$4,000,000, but that he does not hope to raise more than \$3,000,000.

The Tennessee House attempts to set aside woman suffrage ratification, rescinding its concurrence in the Senate resolution.

In the Michigan primaries, Attorney General Alex J. Groesbeck (Rep.) and ex-Gov. Woodbridge N. Ferris (Dem.) are nominated for Governor. . . . In the California primaries, Samuel M. Shorthridge of San Francisco is the Republican choice for Senator against James D. Phelan, renominated.

September 1.—The Government's six-months' guarantee of railroad earnings expires and the roads resume operation on their own resources.

Insurgent anthracite unionists vote for a "vacation" until the minority report of the wage commission is adopted.

Dr. L. S. Rowe succeeds John Barrett as Director-General of the Pan-American Union.

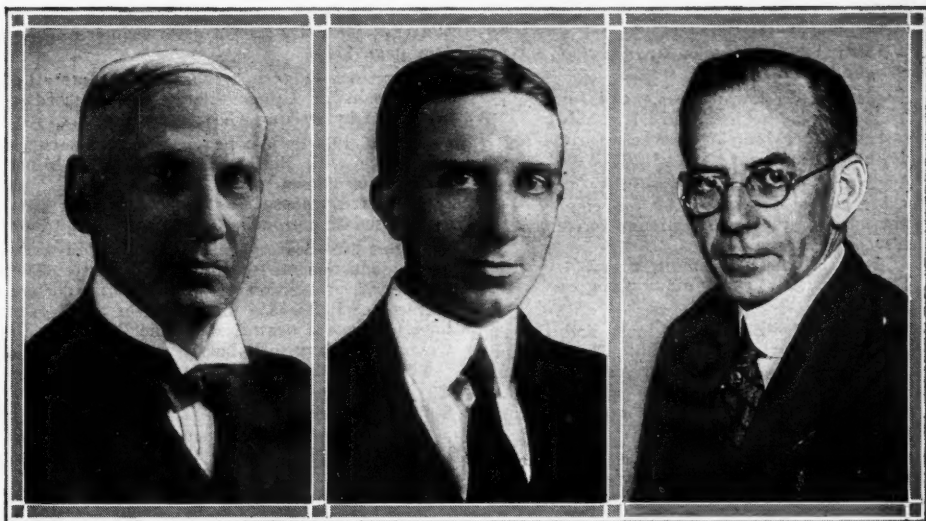
Anthracite miners and operators, through their scale committees, sign a two-year contract based on the recent wage award, but thousands of men remain on "vacation."

September 3.—Secretary Colby and Governor Stephens, of California, confer at Washington on the Japanese land-holding question.

September 7.—In Wisconsin primaries, Senator Irvine L. Lenroot (Rep.) is renominated, defeating the LaFollette candidate; James J. Blaine is the Republican nominee for Governor; Congressman John J. Esch (Rep.) is defeated; the successful Democratic candidates are Dr. Paul Reinsch, for the Senate, and Col. Robert McCoy for Governor.

New Hampshire Republicans renominate Senator George H. Moses, the Democrats nominating Raymond B. Stevens; Albert O. Brown (Rep.) and Charles E. Tilton (Dem.) will run for Governor.

Massachusetts Republicans nominate Lt. Gov. Channing H. Cox for Governor; John J. Walsh is the Democratic nominee.



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GORDON WOODBURY
(Navy)S. PARKER GILBERT
(Treasury)WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS
(War)

THREE NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF DEPARTMENTS AT WASHINGTON

In the Nevada primaries, Senator Henderson (Dem.) is renominated, and Tasker L. Oddie is chosen by the Republicans to oppose him.

Arizona Republicans renominate Governor Thomas E. Campbell, to run against Mit Simms (Dem.); Senator Marcus A. Smith (Dem.) is renominated to run against Ralph Cameron (Rep.).

September 8.—In the Georgia Democratic primary, Senator Hoke Smith (who opposed the League of Nations), is defeated by Thomas E. Watson; Governor Dorsey (Dem.), as an Administration candidate, runs second; Attorney-General Clifford L. Walker is nominated for Governor.

September 9.—The Connecticut Republican State convention renominates Senator Frank B. Brandegee, and names Everett J. Lake, of Hartford, for Governor.

September 11.—Miss Mabel T. Boardman is appointed Commissioner of the District of Columbia, succeeding Louis Brownlow, resigned.

September 12.—Governor Cox's throat becomes weak at Portland, Oregon, but he continues his tour; Senator Harding plans to close his front-porch campaign September 25 and take the stump.

September 13.—In Maine State election, the Republicans obtain an unprecedented plurality of over 65,000 for Governor-elect Frederic H. Parkhurst; four Republican Congressmen are elected and an overwhelming majority is obtained in the legislature; there is a heavy Republican vote by the women.

September 14.—Connecticut's legislature, in special session, ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment and amends State voting laws.

In New York primaries Governor Alfred E. Smith (Dem.) and Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr. (Rep.), are renominated; Nathan L. Miller (Rep.) wins the nomination for Governor,

and Lieutenant-Governor Harry C. Walker is the unopposed Democratic candidate for Senator.

Colorado Republicans nominate Karl C. Schuyler, of Denver, for Senator, and renominate Governor Oliver H. Shoup; James M. Collins and Tully Scott, endorsed by the Non-Partisan League, lead for Governor and Senator, respectively, as Democratic nominees.

A second South Carolina Democratic primary results in the renomination of Senator E. D. Smith.

Vermont primaries result in the nomination of James Hartness (Rep.) and Fred C. Martin (Dem.) for Governor, and the renomination of Senator William P. Dillingham (Rep.).

Washington State Republicans renominate Senator Wesley L. Jones, and Governor Hart wins over Roland H. Hartley (Rep.); W. W. Black (Dem.) runs for Governor.

Louisiana Democratic primaries are so close between ex-Gov. Jared Y. Sanders and Edwin S. Broussard that another election will probably be held.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 16.—The British House of Commons adjourns until October 19, with provision for emergency summons by the Speaker.

August 17.—The Mayor of Cork, Ireland (Terence MacSwiney), convicted of sedition by a court martial, is taken to an English prison.

August 22.—An obstructionist campaign is started by 500,000 workmen in Italy.

August 23.—Irish riots, attacks and incendiarism continue in larger proportion; all but one of the leaders in the Mayor MacCurtain murder are killed; Loyalists at Lisburn destroy Sinn Fein shops.

August 24.—It is reported that Egypt is to get freedom of government on the lines of Cuba, with guarantees to Great Britain at the Suez Canal.

August 27.—Carlos Herrera is elected President of Guatemala.

Western Siberia revolts against Soviet rule upon withdrawal of "Red" troops.

August 30.—In lower Mesopotamia, native revolts occur against the British; a holy war is preached in the Muntefik area between the Tigris and Euphrates.

August 31.—In Lombardy, Italy, 300 metal-working plants are seized by the employees in furtherance of their obstructionist strike; workmen's councils take charge.

British coal miners vote to strike.

The Mexican Twenty-ninth Congress is installed.

September 1.—Belfast killings and burned buildings from rioting by both Unionists and Nationalists total 25 and 214, respectively, for the past week.

September 5.—Gen. Alvaro Obregon is elected President of Mexico.

September 8.—Russian Soviet troops recapture Omsk, Siberia, where the Red government was recently overthrown. . . . In South Russia, General Wrangel menaces the base of the Soviet Thirteenth Army.

September 9.—The British Labor Minister fails to persuade coal miners to agree to Government proposals for averting an impending strike; the miners refuse to arbitrate or to submit to the Industrial Court, and insist upon determining the disposition of coal export profits themselves.

Fiume is proclaimed independent.

The first President of the Indian Legislative Assembly is appointed by the Governor General of India.

September 11.—Italian workmen take over 200 chemical works and several textile mills.

September 14.—Premier Giolitti summons the Italian cabinet to consider the industrial crisis; the workmen's council votes by more than 1,000,000 for coöperative management and profit-sharing by the working staffs.

September 15.—President Paul Deschanel, of France, agrees to resign because of ill health due to his recent accident.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 16.—Two American destroyers are ordered from Cherbourg, France, to Danzig, the free port of Poland; the cruiser *St. Louis* and six destroyers go to the Mediterranean. . . . American relief workers are reported besieged since June 20 at Adana, Asia Minor, where French forces are held by the Turks.

August 17.—With

Russian Bolshevik troops within twelve miles of Warsaw, the Poles start a great counter-offensive (see page 371).

August 18.—French troops of the Interallied Commission in Upper Silesia are attacked at Kattowitz by striking German miners.

August 19.—Polish peace commissioners, in conference with Bolshevik delegates at Minsk, refuse disarmament terms unless reciprocal; the retiring Red troops lose 10,000 prisoners; General Pilsudski personally leads the Polish troops.

August 20.—Soviet peacemakers at Minsk demand reduction of the Polish army to 60,000 "workers," prohibition of war imports, and retirement of Poles 33½ miles west of the Russian lines to create a neutral zone; the Reds offer the Curzon boundary to Poland.

The Upper Silesian border district is occupied by Polish troops; Kattowitz is proclaimed in seige under the French.

August 20.—The first step in organizing the Balkan "Little Entente" is taken by an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Washington strongly advises Warsaw not to engage in territorial aggression against Russia, and requests a declaration of Polish intentions.

August 22.—Sir Reginald T. Tower, Danzig High Commissioner, requests 20,000 Allied troops before permitting the unloading of munitions.

August 23.—Poles trap the Red Fourth Army and Third cavalry corps in the Northwest; Bialystok is captured; Budenny's Red cavalry retreats from Lemberg in the South.

Two American naval officers go to Peru to help reorganize that country's navy.

August 25.—Poland rejects the Russian Bolshevik peace terms at Minsk. . . . The defeated Russian army is entirely disorganized.

The United States sends the gunboat *Sacramento* to La Ceiba, Honduras, where a revolution endangers Americans.

September 1.—V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister at Washington, is succeeded by Alfred Sze, Minister to London; Mr. Koo goes to London to represent China in the League of Nations. . . . Japanese instructors of China's foreign defense army are invited to resign; Japan assents.

September 2.—Polish replies to Mr. Colby's Bolshevik note and the one to Poland requesting discontinuance of the military offensive against Russia, are published at Washington; they hold that Poland must preserve her ethnographic lines by force if necessary.

Poles and Lithuanians engage in fighting along the border, both claiming invasion of territory; Lithuania is reported in alliance with Russia by treaty, affording a link between Russia and Germany through East Prussia.

September 3.—Elihu Root resumes work in the Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

The French General Gouraud proclaims the State of Lebanon, running north from Palestine to the Kebir River and eastward to the hill country, with Beirut as capital.

September 7.—Poland refers the Lithuanian border dispute to the League of Nations.

September 8.—The French mines at Lens make the first small shipment of coal since the war.



TERENCE MACSWINEY,
MAYOR OF CORK

(Confined in an English prison, MacSwiney went for more than a month without food as a protest against British military rule in Ireland)

Poles cross the River Bug and take Jaklanowka; Red troops south of Brest-Litovsk are in retreat.

September 13.—A conference between the French and Italian Premiers ends with substantial agreement.

Belgium announces the signature of a treaty of military alliance with France.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 17.—Longshoremen, idle five months, return to work at New York.

August 21.—Mine guards with machine guns and striking miners with army rifles fight at Cirtsville, Raleigh County, W. Va.

August 23.—The United States, for the seventh consecutive time, scores highest in the Olympic games at Antwerp, Belgium; winning 212 points; Finland is second with 105, Sweden third with 95.

August 24.—American Army fliers, in four airplanes, reach Nome, Alaska, on a pioneer flight from New York in 55 hours flying time.

August 29.—Surface and elevated lines of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company are completely tied up by a strike of union employees, for the third time within two years.

A baggagemen's strike in New York ends with 22 per cent. pay raise and an additional charge of 25 cents per piece to the public.

August 30.—At Provincetown, Mass., the tercentenary of the landing the Pilgrims is celebrated; British, French and Dutch representatives take part; at Leyden, Holland, the university also observes the anniversary.

August 31.—The Maryland census report shows a gain of 154,264 in population, or 11.9 per cent.; Massachusetts increases 485,199, or 14.4 per cent.

September 2.—Washington State census returns show a gain of 214,326, and with 1,356,316 population.

September 3.—Colorado population figures show a gain of 140,325, with 939,376 inhabitants.

September 7.—In Italy, an earthquake kills 400 and razes 100 towns in the district north of Florence.

September 10.—Brooklyn street cars again resume night service; there is a deadlock on terms and many older employees have returned to work.

The population of Maine is placed at 767,996, having increased 25,625.... Oregon, with 70,000 less than Maine in 1910, increased 110,510.

September 11.—The first regular aerial mail from New York arrives at San Francisco in four days.

OBITUARY

August 16.—Sir Norman Lockyer, the distinguished English scientist, 84.

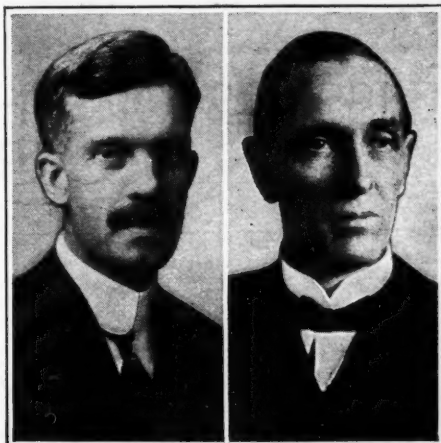
August 17.—Capt. Nelson Lockwood, of the Life Saving Service, 74.

August 18.—Col. Charles E. Hasbrook, a prominent Virginia editor, 73.

August 19.—Samuel Montgomery Roosevelt, portrait painter, 66.... Alpheus Henry Snow, of Washington, D. C., an authority on international law.

August 21.—Dr. Christian F. J. Laase, narcotic expert, 50.

August 22.—Mrs. Louise Seymour Houghton, religious author and settlement worker, 83....



DR. WM. J. HUTCHINS, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF BEREA COLLEGE (AT THE LEFT), AND THE RETIRING PRESIDENT, DR. WM. GOODELL FROST

Anders Zorn, distinguished Swedish portrait painter and etcher, 60.

August 24.—Prof. Christian Heede, authority on fishes, 68.

August 25.—John H. Hanan, the shoe manufacturer, 71.

August 26.—James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, 85.

August 28.—Col. Harry Cutler, chairman of Jewish Welfare Board, 45.

August 29.—Cardinal Leon Adolphe Amette, 70.

August 30.—George Edwin Bissell, of New York, a foremost American sculptor, 81.... Benjamin Smith Lyman, geologist, 85.... Gen. Ramon Ayala, ex-Vice-President of Venezuela, 73.

August 31.—Dr. Bernadotte Perrin, professor emeritus of Greek at Yale, 73.... Fernando Lazcano, president of the Chilean Senate.

September 1.—Lieut. Max Miller, first aerial mail pilot.... Wilhelm Wundt, German philosopher, 88.

September 2.—John Sebastian Helmcken, Canadian pioneer and member of the first Vancouver Executive Council, 97.... Cardinal Victorien Guisasola y Menendez, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, 68.

September 3.—Rev. Henry B. Hartzler, D.D., editor of the *Evangelical*, 80.... Roberto Ancizar, Colombian Minister to Argentina.

September 6.—Charles Wenham Smith, of Newark, N. J., composer and organist, 69.

September 8.—Dr. Frederick H. Gerrish, emeritus professor of surgery at Bowdoin College, 75.... Louis Garthe, Washington journalist, 59.... Dr. Harmon Northrop Morse, Johns Hopkins chemist, 72.

September 12.—George Leighton, a prominent civil engineer of Pennsylvania, 62.

September 13.—Sakue Takahashi, a Japanese authority on international law, 53.

September 14.—Alexander Dunnnett, a distinguished Vermont lawyer, 67.

ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN, IN CARTOONS



THE FRONT-PORCH CAMPAIGN OF SENATOR HARDING IS ABANDONED
From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)

IF we were to leave it to the cartoonists to answer the question, What are the issues of this campaign? those of both camps would agree on at least one specification,

namely, the League of Nations. Democratic cartoons attack Senator Harding for lack of definiteness, while Republican cartoons applaud his "America first" attitude. It is no-



BUT IT'S AWFULLY HARD TO UNDERSTAND!
From the *Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)



HARPING ON ONE STRING—"CORRUPTION"
From the *Telegram* (Portland, Ore.)



A DEMOCRATIC CARTOON AND A REPUBLICAN ANSWER

(The drawing at the left was published in the New York *World*, a strong supporter of the Administration and the Democratic ticket. Mr. Will Hays grasped the opportunity afforded and asked the voters of Maine, "Under Which Flag?" The drawing at the right followed, published in *Harvey's Weekly*, which is supporting Senator Harding.)



HARDING'S POSITION

"I am becoming more and more convinced of the impracticability of running the other half of the world from this half."

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago)

ticeable, however, that good-nature prevails among the cartoonists gen-



THE OLD "PIGS IN CLOVER" PUZZLE

[Can Senator Harding "line up" Republican leaders who differ so widely on the League of Nations question as do ex-President Taft and Senators Borah, Lodge, and Johnson?]

From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



THE BEAUTY AND THE BATHERS

"Hang your clothes on a hickory limb; but don't go near the water!"
From *Collier's Weekly* (New York)

erally in dealing with the personalities of the candidates. Neither Senator Harding nor Governor Cox has much to complain of on that score. Both parties are mindful of the fact that among

this year's "first voters" will be not only those young men who have recently attained their twenty-first birthday, but millions of their mothers and sisters.



SENATOR HARDING TRIES TO DRAG OUT
A DEAD ISSUE—THE TARIFF—FROM THE
POLITICAL BURYING GROUND
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



THE MIRACLE MAN

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



ON A SPREE

[The unprecedented Republican majority in the Maine State election, and its effect on the party]
From the *World* (New York)



THE PROFITEERS DON'T WANT ANY CHANGE
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis, Minn.)



VOX POP. VERSUS VOX COX

[The Voice of the People versus the Voice of the energetic Democratic campaigners]
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



A DUTY RATHER THAN A PLEASURE?
From the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)

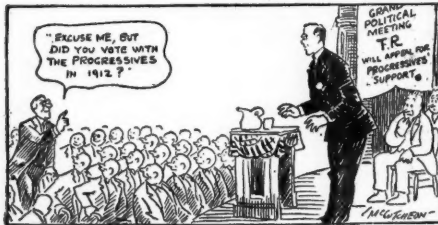


A FRIENDLY TIP!
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)

It is interesting to bring together the three cartoons on this page which take sides on the question whether the country wants a change or is satisfied to keep the Democratic party in power four years more. Many competent observers believe that question to be the principal issue of the campaign.



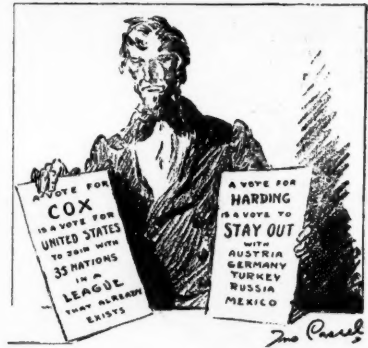
THE DEMOCRATIC EXHIBITS—EVERYTHING THERE BUT THE CROWD—From the *National Republican* (Washington, D. C.)



AS FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT APPEALS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE VOTE
From the *Tribune* (Chicago, Ill.)



IF THEY ONLY KNEW WHERE IT'S GOING TO STRIKE
From the *World* (New York.)



A MAN IS KNOWN BY THE COMPANY HE KEEPS
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



BOTH TO HER: "IF I WERE YOU, I'D BE CRAZY ABOUT ME!"
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, O.)



SHE KNOWS HOW SHE GOT HER VOTE
From the *Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wis.)



A CHANCE TO PROVE IT
From the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)



THE EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES

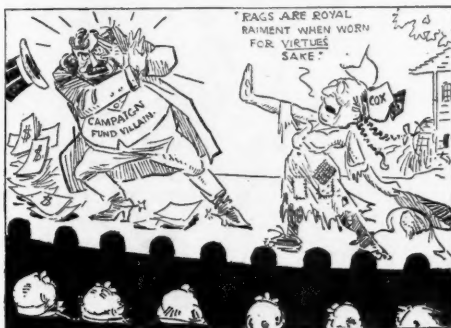
[The Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey make a simultaneous appeal for campaign funds. One seems to have been more successful than the other]
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio.)



ON THE VOTER'S FRONT PORCH
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



BLOWN SKY HIGH
From the *World* (New York.)



A VIRTUOUS HEROINE ON THE STAGE—BUT LOOK AT THE COMPANY SHE KEEPS
From the *Tribune* © (New York.)



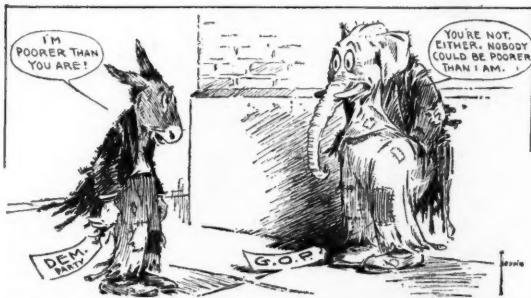


EXCEEDING THE SPEED LIMIT
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany, N. Y.)

The cartoons on this and the preceding page relate to the charge made by Governor Cox, that the Republicans are receiving huge campaign funds.



IT STICKS
From the Evening World © (New York)



POVERTY—A NEW CAMPAIGN ISSUE
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



MUD-SLINGING MAY GO IN WARD POLITICS, BUT NOT
IN THE SHADOW OF THE WHITE HOUSE
From the Tribune © (New York.)



GOVERNOR COX GETS OFF THE MAIN ROAD
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)

THE SAVING OF POLAND

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

SIX years ago this magazine in its October number recounted the amazing circumstances of the resurgence of France and the "Miracle of the Marne." Now another September has seen the stand of Poland in the last ditch, in many ways resembling the resistance of France, and the victory of the Vistula must hereafter take a place in Polish history wholly comparable with that occupied by the Marne in French. Moreover, since John Sobieski saved Europe under the walls of Vienna by defeating the Osmanli Turks, Poland has played no such conspicuous and useful rôle in human history.

At the Marne France, practically alone, stemmed the tide of German barbarism. The six years which have passed since that stupendous struggle have only served to emphasize the magnitude of the meaning of the victory. We see clearly now, what we only suspected then, that the Marne was the decisive event of the World War. German military power was not broken; it was only arrested, but, arrested in full flood, it was never able again to approximate the menace which it held for all mankind in the first week of September, 1914. Thus the victory of the Marne, confirmed by the resistance at the Yser and the splendid defense of Ypres, brought to nothing more than forty years of German preparation.

At the Vistula the immediate victory was more considerable than that of the Marne, because the victorious armies were able to clear Polish territory of the invader and literally destroy the military force which the Bolsheviks had concentrated upon their western frontier. But, by contrast, we are still left in the dark as to the future consequences of the victory, since it is within the possibilities that Russian masses may presently be rallied and once more flung against the Polish armies in numbers which will far exceed the resources of Poland.

Yet it is plain, even at this early date, that we are in the presence of one more of those few historic victories which have

saved our civilization gravely menaced by a peril which struck, not alone at the armies, but at the whole framework of Western culture. Such triumphs in the past were the victories of the Greeks at Marathon and at Salamis, the success of the Roman world in its last gasp in checking Attila on the Catalaunian fields, of France over the Saracens at Poitiers, of Sobieski over the Turks at Vienna and of Joffre over the Germans at the Marne.

Had the Bolsheviks been successful in their recent offensive, it is difficult now to estimate where the onrush of the Red wave might have reached. Germany was like dry tinder; all Middle Europe was as ready to burst in flames as the parched prairie. Aside from France the domestic situations of the several western nations were such that no hope existed that they would supply arms or men to meet the storm, and France single-handed was patently incapable of a new effort of the magnitude which would have been demanded. In a word, Europe was divided again, as at the moment when the Turks took Constantinople, and began their invasion of Europe, with evil consequences which have endured right down to the present moment.

We have, then, in the past month, lived through one of the great moments of history. It is by no means certain that the peril will not come again. We have escaped an immediate calamity of almost unlimited extent, but the day of definitive deliverance has not yet arrived. It may be that the Polish defeat will end the Red horror, but this is only a possibility. It may be that Bolshevism will rally and return, finding Europe still incapable of concerted effort. But whatever is to come in the future, it is hard to believe that the danger will ever be more acute than it was at the moment when Bolshevik forces approached Warsaw and the world awaited the news of the fall of the Polish capital with the same apprehension with which it looked for the news of the fall of Paris six years ago.

In discussing the events of the past month I mean, first, to deal with the military as-

pects and then with the political, striving to explain the reasons for the transformation, the circumstances on the battlefield, and, finally, the political consequences of the amazing reversal, which are already unmistakable. These consequences affect Russia, Germany, the whole of Middle Europe, and have their evident repercussion in Western Europe and even in the United States. For Americans, too, have profited by the Polish sacrifice almost as largely as they did from the French devotion in the ever-memorable days of the First Marne.

II. THE MILITARY ASPECT

It is by comparison with the incidents of the First Marne, still retained in the minds of many people, that it is perhaps easiest to explain the details of the Battle of the Vistula. In 1914, it will be recalled, the Germans undertook to destroy French military power by a single blow. Six weeks were conceived to be necessary for the effort; and, to accomplish the end sought, Germany mobilized upon her Western Front approximately 1,500,000 men. The underlying conception of German strategy was a double envelopment. One group of armies was to turn the French and British left flank, marching through Belgium and around their unprotected western flank. Another group of armies, having broken the French offensive in Alsace-Lorraine, was to invade France between Toul and Epinal. The effect of this double thrust would be a new and gigantic Cannae, fought in the valley of the Seine and ending in the surrounding and destruction of the mass of the French armies.

The French, underestimating gravely the numbers the Germans could employ, because they did not calculate that the Germans would embody reserve formations with their active corps, undertook to attack in Alsace-Lorraine, while breaking the German thrust through Belgium by a thrust east of the Meuse. All the French conceptions were destroyed in the Battles of the Frontiers, which extended from Morhange and Sarrebourg between Metz and Strasbourg to Charleroi and Mons on the Franco-Belgian frontiers. By August 25 all the Allied armies had been beaten, and the two German wings were sweeping forward in Lorraine and in Northern France.

It now became necessary for Joffre to endeavor to escape from the fatal encircling

movements. He did this by calling upon his eastern armies to halt the German thrust from that quarter before Nancy, while he withdrew his northern armies until they had come back southeast of Paris on a front between Verdun and Paris. Meantime he drew upon his eastern armies, which contained the larger fraction of his forces, and reinforced his northern armies about Paris. Finally, when he delivered battle at the Marne, he at last outnumbered the Germans on his western flank and was able to take advantage of the German blunders.

The decisive maneuver of the Marne was the launching of Maunoury's Sixth French Army from under the walls of Paris at the exposed flank of Kluck, which was the flank of all the German armies in France. Threatened with envelopment, Kluck cleverly escaped from the trap, but in doing this was obliged to give the British an opening which, in the end, proved fatal, since German armies elsewhere were not able to achieve a decision before the whole German line had to go back.

Now, in the Polish situation, the Russians acted upon the two flanks, as did the Germans six years before. One mass of Russian armies pressed westward on a front between the East Prussian frontier and Brest-Letovsk on the Bug, seeking to envelop the Polish northern flank, encircle Warsaw from the east, north, and west, cut the communications of Poland with the outside world through the Danzig corridor, and isolate the doomed city. This was entirely analagous to Kluck maneuver, which was originally designed to sweep down upon Paris along the Channel Coast, cutting the British communications with their own country, and reach the Seine below Paris, as the Russians sought to attain the Vistula below Warsaw.

Meanwhile, to the south in Galicia, another powerful force struck for Lemberg along all the front which was so familiar to the world in the days of the World War, both in 1914 and again in 1916. This second front corresponded to the Lorraine front in 1914; and the Poles, like the French, had made the mistake of concentrating the mass of their forces on this front, far removed from their capital and from the field where the enemy was seeking to deal the decisive blow. The French had been led to make their mistake by the miscalculation as to German numbers. The Poles were influenced by the political circumstance that Lemberg was not assured to them by the Al-

lies and Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia might involve permanent loss of this rich province with its great oil wells.

Once the Russian wave began to sweep forward, the Poles were incapable of checking it to the north, because they were outnumbered, their troops were badly equipped and of an inferior quality, and the Russians employed great masses of cavalry and showed superior mobility. In this stage of the operations, it was plain that the Poles were badly led, that something like a panic had ensued, and there was small reason to believe that the situation could be saved, particularly as all of the western nations declined to send aid and there was a plain suggestion that Britain and Italy were willing to abandon the Poles altogether as a consequence of domestic political situations in these two countries.

III. WEYGAND INTERVENES

But at the supreme crisis a great soldier appeared. France, unable to send troops, unwilling for obvious reasons to send Marshal Foch, despatched General Weygand, who six years before had shared with his great master the glory of defending the Lorraine front, after the defeats of Morhange and Sarrebourg, had accompanied Foch when he came west to organize the army which had won the Battle of Fère Champenoise during the Marne time, and had shared with him every other great task during the war. What Berthier was to Napoleon, Weygand had been to Foch. With Weygand came upwards of a thousand of the best French officers available—the men who had served in the Foch school in the World War.

Arrived at Warsaw, Weygand declined the official title of Chief of Staff, leaving the honor to Pilsudski, but undertook at once the reorganization of Polish armies. His first decision was to draw masses of troops from Eastern Galicia, as Joffre had drawn them from Lorraine, and throw them upon the Russian flank which was striking at Warsaw, as Kluck and Bülow had struck at Paris. It was not possible, however, to throw these newly acquired troops upon the right flank of the Russians, as Joffre had used Maunoury in the Marne time, because this Red flank rested upon the East Prussian frontier.

Accordingly, Weygand decided to put them in on the left or southern flank, between the Bug and the Vistula. On this

front they were to move north; and as they moved north they would strike along the rear and communications of the Russian armies which were extending far into Poland and approaching the Lower Vistula at Graudenz, Thorn, and Plock. Substantially the front of this thrust was from Ivanogrod on the Vistula to Cholm, just east of the Bug.

Meantime it became necessary to hold the Reds before Warsaw, while this maneuver developed; and it was equally essential to hold the Danzig corridor through which, alone, Poland had contact with the outside world and might hope to draw munitions. This hope was not realized, for political reasons. But although the Reds did reach the Vistula and cut the main Danzig-Warsaw railway at Mława on the East Prussian frontier, they were not able to pass the Vistula and the subsidiary line on the west bank of the river remained open, although subject to indirect fire at times.

Meantime, the Russians pushed toward Warsaw directly at the same time they sought to envelop it from the north and west. At the moment when they seemed closest to success their heavy artillery was within range of Warsaw, the city was evacuated by the diplomatic corps and by the Polish Government, as Paris had been evacuated in 1914, and much the same set of circumstances was repeated. The sound of the hostile guns was clearly heard within the city and everyone was aware that the fall of Warsaw was only a question of hours if the counter-stroke failed.

But it did not fail. On the contrary, the world, listening for the reports of the disaster, presently learned that the rush toward Warsaw had terminated; then, that the thrust coming up out of the south was making progress, had passed the Warsaw-Brest-Litovsk railway and was approaching that connecting Warsaw with Vilna. In other words, all the Russian armies which had struck at Warsaw and adventured into the Danzig corridor were threatened with complete destruction, unless they could retire before the last of their avenues of retreat should be closed.

Substantially this destruction did overtake the mass of the Russian armies. Of 350,000 used in the northern operation, substantially a third escaped into East Prussia and were disarmed by the German authorities; considerably more than another third were killed or captured by the Poles, together

with an enormous mass of material, while less than a third, mainly without organization or capacity for resistance, fled through the swamps along the East Prussian frontier.

Ten days after the counter-thrust had been launched, Polish armies occupied Lomza, Biolostok, Brest-Litovsk, and the line of the Bug down to the old Russo-Austrian frontier. Only in the Suwalki corner were Red troops still on Polish territory north of the Galician line, and in the next few days Augustowo and Suwalki were liberated and the Polish armies approached Grodno. As I write these lines the so-called "Ethnic Poland," which I shall discuss presently, is clear of Russians, save in the extreme south about Lemberg.

On this Lemberg front, too, Russian attack, after passing the Dniester and approaching the environs of Lemberg, was also broken and the Poles reported the destruction of the main force of Budenny, commanding the Russians in the south. In the south, as well as in the north, Russian armies were in full flight and there was not the smallest prospect that this flight could be interrupted before Galicia was freed from the invader. Thus, in less than three weeks, Poland had escaped destruction, cleared her own soil, and was once more crossing the line which the Paris Conference had provisionally fixed as the eastern frontier of Poland.

IV. THE EXPLANATION

It remains now, briefly, to explain the swift transformation. We have seen, on the strategic side, that Weygand's blow, delivered between the Russian right and center, leading to the envelopment of the right, which had rashly pushed far into Poland, produced quite the same immediate effect as Maunoury's blow from Paris might have produced upon the German right in 1914, had things gone as Joffre hoped.

But back of the strategic stands the human element. Unquestionably the achievement before Warsaw was French in its conception. It represents the same strategic mastery which was revealed so often during the war, at moments when, as at the Marne in 1914, before Verdun in 1916, in Picardy in 1918, the situation seemed lost. A new debt is certainly due to France for her contribution at this fateful moment, not alone to Poland, but to the whole world.

Nor is it less clear that the Russians were

guilty of all the blunders made by the Germans in 1914, while they lacked the disciplined troops to execute such a back somersault as that by which Kluck escaped disaster at the moment when ruin seemed inevitable. The Russian advance, like that of the Germans, was so rapid that the troops were exhausted and the advancing armies got far beyond all communications. Questions of ammunition and of supplies must have been very acute at the precise moment when the counter-thrust was launched.

The effort to reach and close the Danzig corridor involved a march for more than a hundred miles straight into the enemy's country; and such a march was only safe if the flank and communications of the advancing armies were covered. Beyond all else it was a matter of life and death to hold both the Vilna and Brest-Litovsk railways. Yet it would appear that no considerable bodies of troops were left on either line, and the Poles coming up from the south were able to cut both with little hard fighting. Indeed, at the decisive points, the fighting seems to have been relatively insignificant. The Russians had simply staked all upon one gigantic gamble and taken no precautions against a counter-thrust.

Obviously, like the Germans in the Marne campaign, they were convinced that the armies before them were decisively beaten and they did not reckon with the appearance before them of troops drawn from another front, from the Lemberg area. The arrival of these troops, which immediately followed the exercise of French influence upon Polish strategy, transformed the whole situation. Once the troops were discovered in action, it became a race between the Poles moving north and the Russians moving east, and the Poles won the race, cut all the available lines of Russian retreat, and offered their enemies the alternative of surrender or retreat into East Prussia and subsequent internment in Germany.

That the Russian troops fought well, at the outset, that they were reasonably well equipped and fairly competently led, by officers of the old army, except in the high command, seems to be the common testimony of all. Yet they were manifestly short of artillery. Weygand comments upon this, and their losses both in artillery and in all sort of war material were manifestly so great that the organization of a new offensive must be a matter of months—can hardly be achieved before next spring.

The Polish rally reveals qualities which the world marvelled at in the case of the French six years ago. Moreover, it seems clear that the Polish armies, which had faced the Russians in the north before the French moved up the Lemberg troops, were pretty thoroughly beaten and in a condition of disorganization unlike anything which existed in Anglo-French ranks before the Marne. It was fresh formations rather than the defeated troops which did the decisive fighting, and some of the very best of these troops came from the German provinces, which were restored to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles.

The Polish defense was gravely weakened by the course of the British High Commissioner in Danzig, who refused to permit arms to be landed and munitions brought ashore for transport to Poland at the moment when Warsaw was in acute danger and the demand for ammunition insistent everywhere. The British Commissioner explained his course as due to the attitude of the German inhabitants of the town, and asked Allied troops in sufficient numbers to assure peace and public order while supplies were landed. But it is impossible to blink at the fact that the episode made a very bad impression everywhere and should lead to some change in the Danzig arrangement which may insure Polish communication with the outside world in hours of danger.

The main purpose of the Danzig compromise was to give Poland access to the outside world, while protecting the Germans of the town. But there was no intention to permit these Germans to prevent the Poles from using Danzig in hours of danger and, since the Germans have taken this course, there remains an obvious duty for the Allied nations to perform. Access to the sea is and must remain for Poland a matter of life and death. Such access cannot be insured by the present arrangement, and the only possible alternative is to turn the city over to the Poles completely.

It would have been a very sorry commentary upon the Versailles arrangement if solicitude for the rights of some thousands of Germans in a city which is historically and economically Polish, had been the cause of destroying Poland again. Since no settlement with the Bolsheviks is in sight at the present hour, and a new invasion of Poland is a possibility next spring, a sane solution of the Danzig question is certainly needed without delay.

V. PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

When I closed my article last month the Poles, under the impulsion of defeat and urged by their British advisers, had just set out to seek the peace terms of their then victorious enemies. And in advance of the negotiations and over the heads of the Poles the British Premier had informed the Reds that the Poles had been the aggressors; that the British would not oppose Russian terms which demanded guarantees against new attacks, and that Britain would withdraw all support from the Poles if they declined to yield to such terms.

Hard upon this came the Russian peace terms, which were cleverly drawn and seemed to comply with British specifications, but actually involved the destruction of Polish power to resist. Territorially Poland was to be respected, but it was required to reduce its armies to 50,000, arm its peasants and workmen, abandon all importation of arms from friendly nations, pledge itself not to permit foreign officers to train its troops. It was to make grants of land to its wounded and crippled soldiers. It was, in a word, to render itself helpless, incapable of resisting Russian attacks in the future, and Russia was to impose terms which meant the Bolshevikizing of the country by the arming of the Bolshevik elements.

The Polish peace ambassadors were several times unable to get a hearing, owing to alleged misunderstandings, which coincided with the onrush of Russian armies and the obvious desire of the Reds to pursue their military advantage to the uttermost and allow their enemy no respite in the shape of an armistice. By the time the sessions opened at Minsk the whole face of things had changed and the Poles were victoriously pursuing the beaten Reds. News of the change was long withheld from the Polish Ambassadors, but they steadfastly declined to accede to Russian terms and finally the whole conference broke up without decision, following an agreement to meet again at Riga in Latvia.

But the history of the Minsk negotiations holds out little promise that peace can be arranged. Not even defeat led the Reds to modify their terms, save in the matter of the article demanding that the Poles arm their workmen. A vehement protest by the British Government against this article led to Red consent to drop it. But, despite Polish victory, the Reds still insist upon Polish dis-

armament and other conditions which could perhaps be imposed upon a beaten foe, but not upon a victorious opponent whose armies are still advancing.

After all, French influence will probably count for most in determining Polish decision in the matter of peace with the Reds; and the French, like the United States Government, is frankly opposed to any recognition of the Bolsheviks, and will oppose any peace terms which place Poland in an indefensible position in the presence of a hostile Bolshevik state. As to the Reds, they cannot accept Polish terms without confessing to utter defeat. Moreover, France having recognized Wrangel, and Wrangel also being engaged in an offensive against the Reds, the sudden elimination of pressure upon the Polish front would hardly have French support, since it would permit the Reds to concentrate their masses against Wrangel in the south.

The conditions out of which successful peace negotiations could arise do not seem to exist upon the Russo-Polish front. No one can believe the Russian Government would comply with any terms which it might agree to under momentary necessities. Bolshevism remains a danger to the Poles as long as Russia is under the control of Lenine and Trotsky. What we are likely to see, in my judgment, is not peace, but a period of relative quiescence, during which the Poles will entrench on a line selected by French military advisers, and both contestants will prepare for a resumption of hostilities in the spring.

VI. THE "ETHNIC FRONTIER"

Polish victory has produced a new problem. A month ago the British demanded that the Reds should terminate their advance at the "Ethnic Frontier" of Poland—a demand which was completely ignored by the Bolsheviks. Now Great Britain and the United States alike urge that the Poles shall similarly halt their counter-offensive at this same imaginary line. On the map this line is marked roughly by the towns of Suwalki on the East Prussian frontier, Grodno on the Niemen, Brest-Litovsk on the Bug, the Bug River south of Brest to the old Austro-Russian frontier, and this frontier eastward to the point of intersection of the old frontiers of Rumania, Russia, and Austria about the city of Czernowitz, which is now Rumanian. In this scheme of things Suwalki would be

inside of Polish lines, but Grodno and Brest-Litovsk would be excluded.

Historically, this line coincides with that fixed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 for that "Congress Poland" which was assigned to Russia. At the time of the Paris Conference the Treaty of Versailles fixed the frontiers of Poland on the west, that is, with Germany. But it was equally necessary to make at least a temporary arrangement in the east. Accordingly the Paris Conference fixed a line which was accepted by all concerned as representing the irreducible minimum of Polish right. In accepting this line the Poles did not sacrifice any claims to territories east, claims which have a basis in history, in ethnic considerations and in economic and military circumstances. No one suggested at Paris, or for long afterward, that there was anything definitive about this ethnic line.

Last spring, threatened by a Bolshevik attack, the Poles undertook to anticipate the attack by a preventive-offensive and they joined with military political strategy, announcing that they were undertaking to re-establish that Poland which had existed before the First Partition of 1772, whose eastern limits were roughly marked by the Dwina and Dnieper rivers. It was this venture that took the Poles to Kiev and led to their later disaster, since they lacked the numbers to occupy so wide a front and in a war-ravaged region were unable to create communications necessary to the munitionment and maintenance of their forces.

Now Britain and the United States are urging Poland to halt at the so-called ethnic frontier, thus conceding that the line is the extreme eastern limit of Polish claims and surrendering all Polish rights in the vast area between the Niemen and Bug on the west and the Dnieper and Dwina on the east, all of which was once Polish and in which there still live many hundreds of thousands of Poles, together with a confusion of other Slav tribes, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and White Russians.

This Anglo-American advice is based upon the view that Poland can never hope to become as strong as Russia is certain to be, in the future; that Poland will always have to expect German aggression, and therefore that it is of utmost importance that Poland should avoid giving offense to Russian patriotism by annexing Russian districts. To confine her claims to regions undeniably Polish, and thus to open the way

for later friendly relations with a Russia redeemed from Bolshevism—this is the burden of advice now pressed upon Poland by Great Britain and the United States.

By contrast, there is a military as well as a political phase to the Polish case which deserves attention. On the military side it is obviously sheer folly for the Poles to halt at their own boundary and there await the return of Russian attack, particularly since this boundary, that is, the ethnic line, is indefensible over a long stretch of front. French military advisers have insisted, and American diplomatic officials have more or less acquiesced in the view, that the Poles should pass the ethnic line and entrench themselves on the front which will be best adapted for a defensive operation in the future.

This military and strategic line is not the Dnieper-Dwina line, but exactly that front on which the Germans terminated their great invasion of Russia after their victory at the Dunajec in 1915. It is roughly indicated by the towns of Vilna, Baronovichi, Pinsk, Rowno, and the old Austro-Russian frontier along the Zbrusc River. Not only is this line best served by railways, but it is also the shortest, while the German constructions, during three years of occupation, provide defense systems which will certainly have to be restored, but can be restored with far less effort than would be required to construct a new system. Finally, over a large fraction of this front Polish defensive works will be covered by the great Pripet Marshes, the single considerable natural obstacle in this whole region.

Roughly speaking, such a front would be a hundred miles east of the so-called "Ethnic Frontier." It is not necessary, however, that Polish occupation of this front should constitute a definitive settlement of the political question, although there are obvious arguments for making the military and political frontiers coincide where it is possible and, at least south of the Niemen, there is no considerable ethnographic obstacle.

North of the Niemen, on the other hand, there is the nucleus of a Lithuanian state, which was first sketched by the Germans at Brest-Litovsk and has been subsequently recognized first by the Russians and then by the Poles. But Lithuania was once a part of Poland, by the consent of its people, and the Poles have always looked forward to a reunion of the two races. Vilna, the largest city in Lithuania, contains a Polish majority

and the culture of the region has always been Polish.

The difficulty lies in the fact that Lithuania has been Bolshevized and has permitted the Red armies to pour through its territories without protest, although now that Poland is victorious the pursuit by the Poles of retreating Reds has been opposed on Lithuanian frontiers and there is a report of hostilities between Polish and Lithuanian detachments. It is an obvious pity that the Lithuanians and Poles have been separated by Russian and German intrigues, but it is not less patent that, were Lithuania capable of defending its own territory against Russian invasion, wise Polish policy would abandon all hopes of reconquest.

But Lithuania is neither willing nor able to oppose Russian use of her territory as a boulevard of approach to Poland. Again, Lithuanian territories are the only bulwark left separating the Germans from the Reds and it is of obvious importance, not alone to the Poles but to the French, to separate these two enemies, who might otherwise make a common cause against the West. In this situation Polish occupation of the corner between East Prussia and the Niemen, which is itself a portion of Congress Poland, excluded from Ethnic Poland at Paris, seems inevitable and this involves the occupation of the Niemen bridgeheads of Kovno and Grodno, as the Rhine bridgeheads are held by the Allies. The occupation of Vilna seems less essential, although as a railway center it has great value.

In sum, it seems to me, the Poles are bound now, for military reasons which are wholly justifiable, to take a strategically strong position to cover their own territories from a new Russian invasion. Such a position is discoverable only on a front marked by the Niemen on the north and the Zbrusc on the south, coinciding with the limits of Congress Poland of 1815 in the former case, and with those of Austrian Galicia in the latter, while extending in the center to Pinsk and taking advantage of the Pripet Marshes as a natural barrier.

Until Lithuania is freed from Bolshevik control, the occupation of Vilna may also be defended upon military grounds. But, in the end, the wise policy for the Poles must be a satisfactory settlement with their Northern neighbors, which might well be made with the Niemen River as the definitive frontier. To go beyond the old German front is to invite exactly the same disaster which overtook

the Poles in their recent advance to Kiev for the same reasons; to stand at the "Ethnic Frontier" is impossible, given the weakness of that line, from the military point of view.

VII. POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

And now, briefly, we have to review the consequences of the Polish victory. First of all it has rescued the world from the immediate menace of Russian Bolshevism. The "Red Bridge" which Poland was to constitute between Russia and the West has not been completed. The central arch collapsed at the moment when it was being swung to its piers. We shall have time allowed to us to prepare against a new attack; and there is the remote possibility that the defeat will break the Red domination in Russia, but this is, after all, but a faint hope.

Secondly, the circumstances of the Polish victory have enormously enhanced French prestige upon the Continent and similarly weakened British. Britain, in combination with Italy, was championing a policy of peace and recognition of the Bolsheviks. This policy, compelled by the domestic situations in Britain and Italy, would undoubtedly have been carried out but for the Polish disaster, and even in spite of this disaster if French intervention had not saved Poland and made negotiation with the Reds still more difficult.

But next to the victory in Poland, French influence has been most strengthened by Secretary Colby's letter to the Italian Government indicating American sympathy with the French rather than the Anglo-Italian attitude toward the Reds, and our profound opposition to any formal recognition or direct relations with the Bolsheviks. This utterance constituted a real victory for the French and, as *The New York Tribune* correspondent remarked at the time, literally "stunned" the British public, which had imagined that America agreed with Britain in the Russian case.

France, aroused by British direct negotiations with the Bolsheviks in London, and by the failure to inform the French Government of the issue of a British note, countered by the recognition of Wrangel, which again complicated the situation from the British point of view. Obviously, if France and the United States are agreed in a policy of refusing to recognize the Red Government, and France goes to the limit of supporting both the Poles and the Wrangel rebellion

against Red Russia, while England and Italy are striving to arrive at peace by recognition and direct relations, then the old association of Paris is at an end, and international chaos results without the restoration of peace.

To judge by the present outlook, Mr. Colby's note, following the French action in Poland and in the Crimea, has, for the time being, abolished all real chance of peace with Russia, even for the British and the Italians. At all events there is no promise of actual peace. Poland is bound to advance until she reaches the line on which French soldiers advise her to stand. But it must be hoped that she will stand on that line, and risk no new defeats by fresh adventures. The Russo-Polish War enters a new phase—that is the most that can be said at the moment.

Finally, it will not be denied that the prestige of the League of Nations has been terribly shaken by the Polish episode. Poland was a member of the League. The nations associated with Poland were bound to defend Poland in all ways. But Poland has been saved only by French military assistance; and the League, so far from preventing a new war, has failed to protect a nation assailed, or to intervene even to exercise its moral influence on behalf of the assailed Poles.

The League was to prevent wars; and we have had a new and considerable war, certainly as considerable as the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, involving larger armies than were employed in our own Civil War. It was to serve as a method of protecting the nations within the League against outside attack; yet it has ignored Polish misfortune, and has confined its efforts to routine and minor details.

The Polish episode has finally demonstrated that, no matter what the engagements taken on behalf of a nation by its statesmen, the nation will not live up to those engagements when the issue does not concern it immediately and unmistakably. This is another way of saying that the foreign policies will be shaped by domestic conditions. British Labor, at the moment, controls in the British Isles. If the British Government undertook to support Poland by active war against Russia, Labor would revolt, if not by arms at least by strikes. As a consequence there is nothing left for the British Government but to step aside and ignore the engagements of the League of Nations. The same is true of Italy. As for the United States, had the Senate ratified the

Treaty, does anyone suppose that the Government would have been able, even had it desired, to send American armies to relieve Warsaw and invade Russia?

But if the League does not supply insurance against external aggression, then it is obvious that nations will seek this insurance elsewhere, and exactly this is what is taking place. Thus we have seen in the past month the conclusion of a Franco-Belgian military alliance, which amounts to an agreement to make a concerted military effort and to act in close coöperation in case of any subsequent German attack. Belgium will resort to conscription and raise her field army from 100,000 to 300,000 or 400,000. She will combine her plans with those of France and we shall have an entirely different situation from that of August, 1914, if Germany comes again.

At the same time, the world learns of a new arrangement between Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia, the formation of the "Little Entente," which has for its fundamental purpose the insuring of the three states against any later rebirth of Hungarian revanche, but doubtless extends to other fields, since Rumania and Czechoslovakia are equally menaced by Bolshevik perils, while Jugoslavia and Rumania have common fears as to Bulgaria. Indeed, this new alliance suggests that Balkan agreement, which bound Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece together, to achieve the ruin of Turkey. Thus Greece may well become a partner of the new firm at a later date.

Italian sensibilities have been very deeply stirred by the news of the formation of this new alliance, for Italy sees in this "Little Entente" a new force given to Slav claims along the Adriatic. But Italian foreign policy has now been subordinated to domestic necessities; and the reports from Italian cities suggest something dangerously near to domestic anarchy. Not even a close association with Great Britain, and unquestioned economic support from the British in return for Italian diplomatic reinforcement of British policies against French, seem to have served to save the Italians from the consequences of the strain upon a flimsy economic

and political fabric imposed by the World War.

Such an Italian revolution, if it were to come, would be a still further aid to French policy, since it would leave the British without any ally in the matter of Russia; while France could rely, to a degree, upon the moral support of the United States exerted against the recognition of the Reds. Since the United States is not participating in the conferences over German affairs, the elimination of Italy as a force would free the French of their present danger, coming from Anglo-Italian efforts to modify the Treaty of Versailles.

France, then, emerges from the Polish episode with the strongest position politically and militarily in Europe. Moreover, the French domestic situation seems freest from immediate threats of Labor or Socialist disturbances. Anglo-Italian efforts to bring about peace by the recognition of Russia have suffered a severe setback, while the Anglo-Italian association has lost strength as a result of domestic disturbances in Italy. As for the League of Nations, it has suffered terribly, perhaps fatally, through the failure of the machinery to operate either to prevent a new war or to protect a member threatened with extinction.

But that there has been any forward step toward world peace cannot be argued. The Polish affair is only one more stage in that general disorder which has now subsisted for more than six years and shows no clear sign of abatement. For the moment Russian dangers are avoided, but a new set of German dangers are in sight. Having long hesitated between joining Russia and preserving her neutrality, Germany has at last accepted Polish victory as a clear evidence that she must operate in the West and not in the East, and seek to modify the Treaty of Versailles in conference with her enemies, not in alliance with Russia. We are on the eve of new and interesting German developments, behind which a fresh Russian crisis may well develop as secretly and as swiftly as the last. And again, action in the matter of Germany is terribly handicapped by lack of unity between the Allies of 1918.



THE AMERICAN WOMAN GETS THE VOTE

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER

THE near success of the movement for woman suffrage was not a debatable question after the two dominant political parties declared in favor of it in 1916. It had always been in the platforms of the minor parties and in 1912 the Progressive party made it a leading issue, taking the advanced position that it should be secured by amending the national Constitution.

In 1910, due to the rising spirit of "insurgency" against the "machine" rule of the Republican and Democratic parties, the State of Washington had granted full suffrage to its women by a three-fourths vote of its electors, and California followed in 1911. Up to that time it had existed only in the sparsely populated States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, and its advocates had been unable to obtain any extension for fourteen years. The two old parties had not yet recognized this new spirit and their platforms ignored the subject. At the election of 1912, however, the voters of Oregon, Arizona and Kansas (with its large constituency) completely enfranchised their women, and in 1914 those of Nevada and Montana followed their example.

Although there had been several defeats during these years the trend of the situation was so evident and the number of women voters had become so large that by 1916 the leaders of the old parties saw the absolute necessity of endorsing equal suffrage. The leaders of the National Suffrage Association, who had been trying since 1868 to obtain this endorsement and had spent nearly fifty years of time and uncounted thousands of dollars on State amendment campaigns, were now not willing to accept a mere recognition of the principle, but demanded a declaration in favor of the short and speedy method of a federal amendment, which was positively refused.

President Wilson, who, with most of his cabinet, had now declared for woman suffrage, wrote the plank in the Democratic platform: "We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of this country,

State by State, on the same terms as to the men." This was in direct accord with the doctrine of States' rights which the party always had maintained. The Republican platform made that party's first declaration for States' rights and a stronger one than the Democratic: "We favor the extension of suffrage to women, but recognize the right of each State to settle this question for itself." This plank was put into the platform by Senators Lodge, Wadsworth and Borah, members of the Resolutions Committee, against the protest of other members.

Why a National Campaign?

The unwisdom of this plank was soon apparent to the party at large, and its Presidential candidate, Judge Charles E. Hughes, lost no time in announcing himself in favor of a federal suffrage amendment, but he was not supported in this stand by the conservative leaders. President Wilson was reelected by the equal suffrage States and naturally the women were held responsible, but with a secret ballot this could not be proved. The only State where the women's ballots were kept separate from the men's was Illinois, where they could vote only for Presidential Electors, and these showed a Republican majority of 70,000. The federal amendment was not an issue in the equal suffrage States, as the women were already enfranchised, and in the Middle West and Eastern States, where it was a burning question, they could not vote. After the election of 1916 there was a notable increase of favorable sentiment for woman suffrage among the Democrats and this was especially seen in the South, where there had been very little. It was evident to the Republican party, outside of its Bourbon element, that it must be accepted.

The Vote for Presidential Electors

The leaders of the National Association were quick to take advantage of the situation and launch the "drive" that they had long had in mind for a vote for Presidential

Electors, which could be conferred on women by the State legislatures. This had been given in Illinois, used in the recent election, and accepted as constitutional. As soon as the legislatures met in 1917 the attempt was made in States where the prospect seemed favorable and this vote was given in North Dakota, Nebraska, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Rhode Island. The Legislature of Arkansas granted full suffrage at all primary elections, which it had the power to do. In 1918 the Texas Legislature gave the same privilege, which is equivalent in those two States to complete enfranchisement. In 1919 the vote for Presidential Electors was given by the Legislatures of Maine, Vermont, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri and Tennessee—a total of fourteen, with Illinois.

Meanwhile the most important of all the events had occurred when New York at the November election of 1917, by a majority vote of 102,353, gave the complete franchise to women. This added 45 to the members of Congress elected partly by women, and, in the warlike language of that day, woman suffrage "went over the top." The suffragists now did not want any more State campaigns, with their immense expenditure of labor and money, but several were under way and at the November election of 1918 amendments were carried by large majorities in Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma. There were now about 7,500,000 women of voting age in the fifteen equal suffrage States. With those added in the Presidential Suffrage States, there were approximately 17,000,000 and these States would choose 330 of the 531 Presidential Electors. The time was at hand for the next step—an amendment of the federal Constitution.

Fifty Years' Fight for Federal Amendment

When the movement for woman suffrage began in the middle of the nineteenth century, all extensions of the franchise had been made through amending State constitutions by consent of the voters, and no other way was known. Not until after the Civil War and the submission and adoption of the 14th and 15th Amendments was it determined that the federal Constitution could be amended for this purpose. The leaders gladly took advantage of this method and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony and others called a meeting in New York on May 15, 1869, less than three months after the 15th Amendment had been submit-

ted to the legislatures, and formed the National Woman Suffrage Association—its resolutions declaring its "sole object" to be a 16th Amendment to enfranchise women.

Appeals were made to every Congress after 1869, but it was soon recognized as useless to expect that body to act until some States had made the experiment. Under legal advice, Miss Anthony and others tried to vote, and in some instances succeeded, in 1872, under the provisions of the 14th Amendment, but in 1874 the United States Supreme Court decided that this action was unconstitutional.

From this time the National Association continuously worked for amending both Federal and State constitutions. An association called the American also had been formed in 1869, under the auspices of Lucy Stone and her associates, to work only in the States, but later it also declared for action by Congress and in 1890 the two united in one organization, the National American. It is this association which recently terminated its existence with its object accomplished.

In the State campaigns among men of all classes, races, creeds and conditions women encountered the traditions, customs, prejudice and intolerance of the ages. As these were gradually overcome and they began to get a foothold, they entered a new era and were faced with the organized opposition of the liquor interests, the corporations and the party "machines" through which the first two exercised their influence. In the face of these tremendous political forces, disfranchised women were almost powerless and there was ample evidence that in a number of States after the amendment had actually received a majority it was "counted out." In over fifty State campaigns only fifteen achieved success. Nevertheless the movement slowly gained momentum; public sentiment was gradually educated; women profited by experience, but it was not until the people, especially those in the West, rose up in protest against the domination of the three powerful forces mentioned that ethical questions received any consideration from Congress or legislatures.

It was on the crest of this wave of insurgency that in 1916 woman suffrage passed from the status of an academic reform to that of a political issue. In the new Congress of 1913, a Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage which was friendly instead of hostile was appointed for the first time in two decades, and after twenty years

without any action on a Federal Suffrage Amendment it was favorably reported, debated and brought to a vote on March 3, 1914, receiving a majority of one. In January, 1915, for the first time in history it came before the House of Representatives and the vote was 174 ayes, 204 noes.

Adopted by Congress

The gains in the various States recorded above, and in addition the granting of suffrage to women in the Canadian Provinces and its near approach in Great Britain, kept the question before the people. President Wilson declared in favor of a federal amendment, and on January 10, 1918, it again came to a vote in the lower house and secured barely the necessary two-thirds. Then followed the long contest in the Senate. On October 1, 1918, after the President had appeared personally with a strong appeal for the amendment, it lacked two votes of the needed two-thirds. Voted on again, February 10, 1919, it lacked one vote. A new Congress, after March 3, necessitated another vote in the lower house, which on May 21 gave 42 more than the necessary two-thirds. On June 4, after a two-days' debate, it passed the Senate with two more than two-thirds of the full membership voting or paired.

Ratified by Thirty-six Legislatures

Thus ended the struggle of fifty years for the submission of a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment to the State legislatures. Had it passed a few months earlier, while over forty were in session and most of these in favor of it, the ratification of the necessary three-fourths would have been comparatively easy, but this was precisely what the opponents had been determined to prevent. The suffragists were faced with the colossal task of obtaining special sessions of the legislatures in almost thirty-six States, but for the first time they had powerful allies. Now that the women of thirty States would be able to vote at the next Presidential election, both political parties desired that those of all the States should have this privilege by November, 1920, and the Republican and Democratic National Committees with other party leaders spared no effort to secure these ratifications. Their progress from week to week had a place on the front page of the newspapers with the leading political events of the day.

By March 22, 1920, less than sixteen

months after the amendment had been submitted, it had been ratified by 35 legislatures, 27 of them called in special session—a remarkable achievement. Included in the remaining 13 States were the 10 bordering on the coast from Delaware to Louisiana, all of which defeated ratification, and only three were left from which to secure the necessary 36th—Tennessee, Connecticut and Vermont. The first seemed barred by its constitution, which required that a legislature in order to vote on an amendment must be elected after it was submitted. The Governors of Connecticut and Vermont positively refused to call a special session. Then came an absolute deadlock which lasted over four months. The opponents in Ohio had by an initiative petition called for a referendum on the ratification of its legislature. The case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, which declared this unconstitutional. Eminent legal authority held that this decision nullified the clause in the Tennessee constitution and the Governor, A. H. Roberts, called a special session for August 9. After one of the bitterest fights ever made in a legislature the Senate ratified on August 13 by a vote of 25 to 4, and the house on the 18th by 49 to 47. Speaker Seth Walker moved a reconsideration and there were various delays, but on the 25th the Governor sent the certificate to Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby in Washington, who on the 27th proclaimed the amendment a part of the Federal Constitution.

"The right to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." That is all, but to obtain it required seventy years of continuous struggle.

Now That They Have the Vote, What Will They Do with It?

In the granting of universal suffrage to women a mighty and unknown force has been unleashed. On every side one hears the question, "What will they do with it?" This seems a strange inquiry. The vote, regarded as a priceless possession and closely restricted by the founders of the Government, has in the passing years been conferred on millions of men without their asking—on the wage-earners, the immigrants, the negroes, the Indians—and in not a single instance has there been anxious questioning as to what they would do with it. This anxiety is a compliment to the women, a recognition of their independence, self-reliance and abil-

ity, a confession that they are quite as likely to lead as to be led.

Experiences of Suffrage States

But why all the curiosity at this late day? Is woman suffrage so new and untried an experiment? Women have been voting on the same terms as men for over fifty years in Wyoming; a quarter of a century in Colorado, Utah and Idaho; from eight to ten years in Kansas, Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington. What have they done there? It cannot be anything so very radical or startling, as one neighboring State after another enfranchised its women until almost the whole territory west of the Mississippi River was included and it extended eastward. Has anybody ever heard of a move toward a "woman's party" in any of these States during all these years? On the other hand, have women merely doubled the vote? In every State the party managers will admit that the "woman vote" is now and always has been an uncertain element in the political situation; that it cannot be controlled as the men's vote can; that women as a whole are far less partisan than men, and that their vote is a positive influence which must be reckoned with.

A few years ago, in answer to the innumerable questions as to what the women of Colorado had accomplished through their suffrage, the Hon. Edward T. Taylor, now and for many years past a member of Congress, prepared a pamphlet containing 150 excellent laws of that State which he declared to have been enacted largely through the influence and support of women. Hundreds of thousands of these pamphlets have been circulated by the National Suffrage Association and its statements have never been challenged. In 1910, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe took a census of clergymen in the four oldest woman suffrage States and out of 624 answers 562 said that the effect had been excellent. In 1916-17, the Committee of Political Science of the large Federation of Women's Clubs in California made a "survey" of woman suffrage in that State, sending out questionnaires to 500 clubs to be used in collecting information. The consensus was that the exercise of suffrage by women "had improved the character of candidates for office, cleaner methods were used in campaigns, political meetings were more orderly, a larger number of women attended, there was more real argument and less 'hot air'; polls now were all in de-

cent places, and everything about the elections was quiet and orderly." It declared that the effect on women had been an increased interest in public matters, a decided mental broadening, a concern not only in the rights of women but also of men and all humankind; an added dignity, poise, intelligence and efficiency. Women had been especially interested in legislation along humanitarian lines and general community welfare. A list of twenty valuable laws directly due to the work of women was given—joint guardianship of children, raising "age of consent," eight-hour day for women; teachers' pensions; creating minimum wage commission; amending juvenile court and compulsory education laws and others of like character. This survey was indorsed in each community by its business men, educators, editors, ministers and public officials. It could be or has been duplicated in every equal suffrage State.

The only answer that can be logically made to the inquiry, "What will women do with their votes?" is to relate what they have done and imagine what will be the effect of nation-wide organization and coöperation. Politically, the women will differ in the various States as men do, will be constitutionally Democratic in some and Republican in others, more or less progressive according to the locality, but on certain fundamental questions concerning home, children, temperance, morality, they are more nearly a unit than men are on any subjects. The leaders of the suffrage movement, however, are not satisfied that the interests of women should be confined within these narrow limits, and, praiseworthy as is their record, they have not proved themselves the direct, compelling political force that was hoped for.

A Non-Partisan League of Women Voters

As the time approached for the National Association to come to an end its leaders felt strongly that this large, organized body must not go out of existence, that the women now invested with the great responsibility of the suffrage needed more than ever guidance and mutual aims. Its president, Mrs. Chapman Catt, unsurpassed in organizing ability, began with capable assistants the work of merging this association of women that had striven for the vote into one which should get the highest possible results from the use of the vote. As the League of Nations was at this time the chief topic of the day it was a general wish that the new organization

should be named the League of Women Voters. The old State suffrage associations were to pass automatically into the new league. It was to be absolutely non-partisan, with its members free to join existing parties. Plans were perfected for its inauguration at the 50th and supposedly last convention of the National Association, to be held at St. Louis in March, 1919, when it was expected that the Federal Amendment would have been submitted to the States and ratified.

The United States Senate decreed otherwise, and the association saw instead its most strenuous year's work ahead. Nevertheless, the league was launched and the States which already had the suffrage transferred their allegiance. The old association would have delayed the next convention until the end of the ratifications, but a tender sentiment called for its farewell convention in the week that contained the one-hundredth birthday of its immortal founder, Susan B. Anthony, February 15, 1920, and February 14, that of its beloved president for eleven years, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who had passed from earth the preceding July, after forty years' work for woman suffrage. It was a beautiful occasion when at this time in Chicago the veteran leaders placed the new organization in the hands of younger women, who had reached a high development through the opportunities won for them by the toil and sacrifice of the early suffragists.

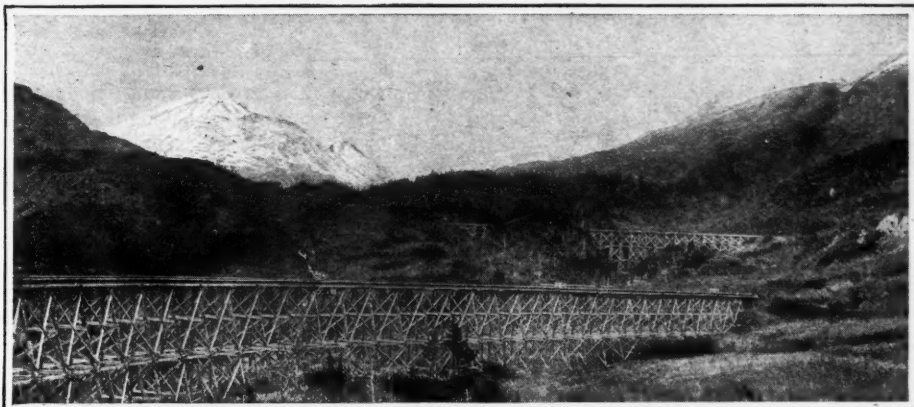
Henceforth the ambitious purpose of the League of Women Voters will be, through its State branches, "to support a program of legislation to improve the electorate and thus the entire political system of the government." This program includes compulsory education for all children between six and sixteen; education of adults by extension classes of the public schools; English made the national language by requiring it to be compulsory in all public and private schools for general education; higher qualification for citizenship and more impressive and sympathetic ceremonies for naturalization; direct citizenship for women and not through marriage, as a qualification for the vote; naturalization for married women made possible; compulsory publication in foreign language newspapers of lessons in

citizenship; classes of citizenship in connection with the public schools; an oath of allegiance to the United States for every citizen, native and foreign born, to be one qualification for the vote; an educational qualification in all States after a definite date to be determined.

With only men voting, there would be enough political influence in every State to defeat this program. With millions of women working for it, new voters, their moral natures not yet weakened by partisanship or corrupted by a low order of politics, it is entirely possible. It is no more chimerical than was the idea of woman suffrage in the early years, and there is this signal advantage—women themselves can vote for these new reforms and they could not for the other. The State Leagues are conducting Schools of Citizenship for men and women with remarkable success. They are carrying out a full program for the benefit of Women in Industry, which includes a representation of women on all labor boards and commissions.

It is expected that women from trade unions, granges, philanthropic, religious, and political societies will unite with the League, and different groups will work for the various measures in which they are especially interested. Eight standing committees of specialists were formed in St. Louis and the reports of their expert chairmen at the convention in Chicago could well be printed as government documents. These committees come under the heads of Americanization, Protection of Women in Industry, Child Welfare, Improvement in Election Laws and Methods, Social Hygiene, Unification of Laws concerning the Civil Status of Women, Food Supply and Demand, Research.

These are some of the objects that women hope to accomplish with the suffrage. The experiment must develop gradually, and while the process is going on some of the newly enfranchised women will become violently partisan, will scramble for office, and will seek personal glory. They are only the bubbles on a deep and silent stream. In the years to come the nation-wide enfranchisement of women will cause a peaceful revolution in the social, economic and political situation as it now exists and will fully justify the hopes of its intrepid and persistent advocates.



THE GREAT TRESTLE ON THE GOVERNMENT RAILROAD IN ALASKA

(By far the most important phase of Alaskan affairs is the construction of the Government railroad, 500 miles in length, running from the port of Seward northward to Fairbanks in the very heart of the Territory, with a branch tapping the Matanuska coal fields. This railroad will be of immense aid in the development of mining and agriculture for the people of Alaska as well as for outsiders. It will also render accessible to tourists vast ranges of mountains whose scenic splendors are declared by Secretary Payne to be superior even to those of Switzerland)

ALASKA'S PLACE IN THE SUN

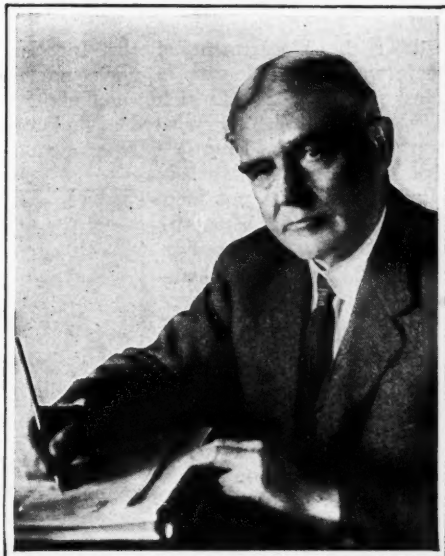
BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

WHEN I asked Secretary Payne how long he stayed in Alaska, he promptly replied: "About a year." The answer was characteristic in two ways: First, of his dry humor (he was gone from Seattle less than three weeks); and then of his mental operations, which are about the quickest on record.

There is no doubt that he learned more about the great Northland in his flying trip than many another man would have learned in twelve months' time. His highly trained mind pounces on the meat of a subject instantly. He grasps the essentials and ignores the non-essentials. His questions penetrate to the innermost core of the subject, laying it bare. His decisions come like a shot from a rifle; and, if favorable, are registered by a dash of the pen: "OK—Payne." His "turn-down" is equally prompt, laconic, and conclusive; and rarely, if ever, does he reverse a decision. He has seen the thing whole; he knows his mind; he proceeds to act,—and that's the end on't," as old Dr. Johnson would say. A great lawyer, a keen judge of human nature, deeply versed in the practical affairs of life—this power of mental penetration and rapid decision makes him an ideal administrator.

John Barton Payne is one of the men thrown to the front of American public life by the exigencies of war. He is no politician or office-seeker. President Wilson summoned him from his law office in Chicago in

December, 1917, to become chief counsel for the United States Railroad Administration,



HON. JOHN BARTON PAYNE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

(Judge Payne succeeded Mr. Lane as head of the Department of the Interior last March. He had long been a distinguished Chicago lawyer and jurist, brought to Washington in the war period as counsel of the Shipping Board and later becoming chairman of that board. The head of the Interior Department is in effect overlord of the Territory of Alaska; and Secretary Payne's Shipping Board and Railroad Administration experience make him especially qualified for leadership in developing Alaska's vast resources. Transportation is the vital problem)



THE FIRST STEP IN ALASKA AGRICULTURE

(This dairy ranch near Seward represents typical conditions in Alaska in respect to scenery, forest growth, and the problem of clearing land for farming)

where he faced a mass of big, delicate problems, with no precedents to guide him. He handled them so easily and successfully that the President next made him Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, where he confronted another difficult situation with equal dexterity.

When Secretary Lane surrendered his portfolio, Judge Payne was called to the head of the Department of the Interior. There was an audible gasp in official circles. "He knows railroads all right; and perhaps ships," it was said, "but what does he know about the great Interior Department?" "Nothing," he frankly admitted; but it was not long before he knew *all* about it. Everyone soon saw there was a clear brain and firm hand at the helm. Then Walker D. Hines resigned as Director General of the railroads. There was general speculation about his successor, and several "straight tips" were given. They proved to be wrong. John Barton Payne was named. "Going to resign from the cabinet," the newspapers inferred. Not at all—Secretary of the Interior in the forenoon, and Director General of Railroads in the afternoon. "And with all that"—laughed one of his cabinet colleagues—"he says he hasn't enough work to keep him busy."

His method is unique. His door stands wide open; anybody having business with him walks in, unannounced. He greets them with a smile and a hand-shake; gets the point of their story in a twinkling; says "yes" or "no" and sends them away promptly, though with no sense of having been hurried. "Take your time—" he tells them, "I'm never busy"; but somehow they are through and gone, almost before they began. So callers, delegations, and heaps of official papers melt before him like a late snow before the warm, springtime sun. And he has

plenty of time for golf. It is the marvel of all observers.

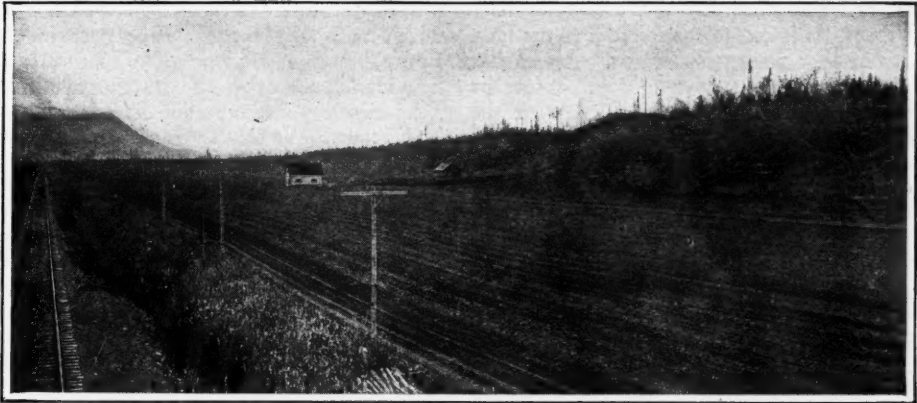
"Viceroy of Alaska"

Secretary Payne had been in office only a short time when he discovered that Alaska was a big, undeveloped empire, and that he was its "Viceroy," as he quaintly said. He wanted to know all about it—its population, resources, industries; and, more particularly, its troubles, and what could be done about them, so he created the Alaska Advisory Committee, popularly known as the "Brooks Committee" after its Chairman, Dr. Alfred



SOME PRODUCTS OF ALASKA SOIL

(The scene is on a homestead in Matanuska Valley. The man at the right is Mr. E. O. McCormick, of San Francisco, vice-president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, on a tour of inspection for the Secretary of the Interior)



A POTATO FARM NEAR CHICKALOON, ON THE MATANUSKA BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT RAILROAD

(Alaska soil is deep and rich, and the climate is similar to that of Norway, Sweden, and Finland. While the winters are hard and protracted, the summer days are long and the sun scarcely takes time to set)

H. Brooks, of the Geological Survey. In the Far North they have a saying: "Only God and Dr. Brooks understand Alaska"—for that has been his special province for many years, and his annual visit is an event resembling the return of the native to his old home town. The other members of the Committee were H. Y. Saint, of the Shipping Board; Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General; and E. A. Sherman, of the Department of Agriculture. The make-up of the Committee indicated quite clearly the practical lines along which the Secretary sought to discover Alaska's "place in the sun."

When the Committee reported, in answer to the Secretary's questions, he had what he wanted—the facts laid bare. The next thing was to see the place with his own eyes; to meet the people face to face, and discuss things with them man-fashion. Having plenty of time on his hands—"nothing much to do"—he joined Secretary Daniels and other officials at Seattle July 8th, and set out for the North on a Government boat. "We didn't loiter," he says, "we went." And they went to the points of greatest immediate interest: Ketchikan, the lively seat of fisheries and lumber; Juneau, the capital and mining center; Seward, the place where the Government railroad meets the sea, on the shores of beautiful Resurrection Bay; Anchorage, the new railroad town and headquarters of the Alaskan Engineering Commission; and the Matanuska region, where the railroad taps the virgin coal fields, and hardy settlers have begun the cultivation of the soil.

On August 3, Secretary Payne was back at his desk, in Washington, his face browned

by the sun of seas and deserts, and radiant with the joy of his work, which includes not only the "vicerealty" of Alaska, but "overlordship" of all the national parks and great irrigating works, some of which he visited in the course of his meteoric flight.

A Home-grown Banquet, Including Drinks

"The first thing I want to say about Alaska, as it struck me," the Secretary remarked, "is that the popular conception of it as a land of ice and snow is all wrong. It has long, hard winters, of course, and the most wonderful glacial fields in the world, yet Nature makes amends with a brilliant, intensive summer, when the sun scarcely takes time to set. As a consequence, I found Alaska literally 'flowing with milk and honey.' I sat down to a ten-course banquet, at Anchorage, including four meat courses; and everything on that rich table, except coffee, salt and sugar, was raised in Alaska. They could readily produce the sugar, too, as they have grown wonderful beets in an experimental way. I may add that they even make their own drinks.

"The Alaska climate is practically like that of Norway, Sweden, and Finland; and the territory will ultimately sustain at least as many people as those three countries, which is approximately ten million. I saw growing crops of wheat, oats, barley, potatoes and other vegetables, berries of various kinds, and everything of the best quality. The soil is deep and rich, responding generously to cultivation. Red-top grass, for example, grows fifteen to eighteen inches high in my native State of Virginia; but I plucked Alaska red-top, which measured six

feet and three inches. What do you think of that? It is due to the soil and to the long days of that northern summer. Alaska has millions of acres that will do that sort of thing; all public land, all waiting for the labor of the future settler, and certain to reward him richly, but not until we have adjusted other conditions on a sound basis."

Railroad and Coal Mines

The special object of the cabinet mission to Alaska was to look into the possibilities of the coal supply, with reference to the Navy, and the development of local industries. One of the bitterest controversies that ever arose in connection with American natural resources raged about the Alaska coal question a decade ago. The future historian will probably say that this controversy projected potent influences into national politics, disrupting a cabinet, wrecking an administration, and splitting a great party in twain. It was at least the cutting edge of the issue which arose between reaction and progressivism. The end of it all was—stagnation for Alaska. One fundamental good emerged, however, and that was the building of the great Government railroad through the heart of the most valuable territory for a distance of 552 miles, of which 440 are completed, while the rest is going rapidly forward. Already the railroad taps one of the best of the coal fields, the Matanuska, bringing the product to tidewater at Anchorage and Seward.

Secretary Payne was delighted with the railroad, which has been well and economically constructed, in a region presenting many difficulties; and he is enthusiastic about the coal. "We have developed one 16-foot

vein of coal equal to the famous Pocahontas, which will supply the Pacific fleet in the future," he said, "sinking a 600-foot shaft on five levels. That is at Matanuska. The Esko mine supplies bituminous coal of a very high grade. We saw veins of lignite 30-feet thick, and there is also anthracite as yet wholly undeveloped."

The development work so far accomplished has been of a pioneer, or experimental character, done by the Government, through the Alaskan Engineering Commission. The Government will go forward vigorously with the work, in the interest of the Navy. Private operators are now beginning to make applications for leases, and large activities may be anticipated in the early future. It is all the logical development of the policy of the present national Administration, inaugurated by Secretary Franklin K. Lane, and now to be carried on by his successor.

Paving the Way to Prosperity

I come now to the broad problem of Alaska and its future, as it presents itself to the practical, level-headed man, who presides over its destinies. Secretary Payne regards Alaska as a big, national asset. He thinks it ought to furnish opportunities—not merely for remunerative employment and profitable investment, but for the building of homes, the founding of industries, and the support of a great population living in the enjoyment of high average prosperity; but he thinks, as the situation stands to-day, there is much preparatory work that must be done, partly by Government, partly by private enterprise, and very largely by intelligent coöperation between these two agencies, before Alaska can come into its own. The Secretary states the case in this way:

First of all, there is a shipping problem to be solved. Ships now in operation have not sufficient carrying capacity to serve the needs of the Territory. Moreover, the rates are too high, including passenger rates. A charge of \$70 or \$75 to get from Seattle to Alaska, if not prohibitive, is at least discouraging, to immigration. I have gone into this subject, and find that two American lines can not render as good service to the public, or get as good results for their owners as one line could do. They have too many boats at one season, while boats



A PILE OF COAL, IN THE MATANUSKA REGION OF ALASKA

(Note, for comparison, the house on the extreme left of the picture)



AN EXPOSED COAL VEIN AT CHICKALOON

(Though not yet attaining the importance of the gold and copper mining industries, the coal resources of Alaska are rapidly being made available. Naturally the railroad running to the Matanuska coal field is largely responsible for this phase of Alaskan development. In the picture above, the figures of the men in the foreground afford some idea of the extraordinary thickness of the coal vein shown. One mine already being worked has a 16-foot vein)

are lacking at the peak of the traffic. I am of the opinion that these two lines ought to be consolidated, facilities increased, and rates reduced, under Governmental regulation. I am moving to bring this to pass, and also seeking the coöperation of the Shipping Board, in the improvement of the service. We must make it possible for people to get to Alaska, and we must facilitate the shipment of products and supplies. Not until this is accomplished, and put on a sound basis, can Alaska go ahead.

Good mail service is another consideration of high importance, and that, of course, is bound up with the shipping question. I have enlisted the aid of the Post-office Department, just as I have of the Shipping Board, with a view of improving the mail service.

Alaska cries aloud for capital and enterprise to establish permanent industries that will utilize her raw materials, furnish profitable employment, and feed the prosperity of the United States. Here we are starving for paper, while up there in the North are millions and millions of acres of public lands covered with timber—enough to supply fully one-third of all the wood-pulp paper consumed in the United States. Here is a great need and a great opportunity. I desire most earnestly to call it to the attention of paper manufacturers. In connection with this, as well as other industries, I should mention the abundant opportunities for the utilization of water power.

Seward paid \$7,200,000 for Alaska in 1867, and many people thought he had been swindled. The truth is, he got one of the biggest bargains in history, a fact I had not myself appreciated until a few weeks ago. Up to 1919, our people had taken \$949,000,000 out of Seward's purchase, and they had barely touched the rim of it. The only thing that may have been somewhat overdone, and that needs to be conserved in order to assure its perpetuity, is the fisheries. This is the greatest single source of income, amounting in 1918 to nearly \$60,000,000. It can be carried on indefinitely under proper regulations. The mineral output in 1919 totaled almost \$50,000,000, but was unusually stimulated by war prices.

Finer than Switzerland

Secretary Payne is enthusiastic about the scenic attractions and tourist possibilities of the great Northland. I told him Gifford Pinchot thought it equal to Switzerland, to which he replied: "There is no comparison. Switzerland has a range of mountains, but Alaska has range on range, rising sheer from the sea and covered with eternal snow. Switzerland has glaciers, but nothing to compare to Alaska's in extent; I passed one glacier sixty miles long, and there are lots of them. There is nothing finer than a summer trip to Alaska. It ought to be the favorite jaunt of Americans, and the tourist traffic should be a large source of local income."

With all of these attractions, the population of the territory has never exceeded 50,000 and is to-day only about 36,000. It sent more young men to war than any other part of the country in proportion to its population, while thousands of other men were attracted to the States by high wages. But the true explanation of its backwardness is that already given. It is a treasure house, but the key is lost—or, to speak more accurately, has never been found. In the opinion of those who know most about the situation, the present Secretary of the Interior is on the right track. The policies he has formulated and begun to put into effect will eventually unlock the resources of this rich region.

"Go North, Young Man!"

Alaska appeals to Secretary Payne especially as the young man's opportunity. "Go

North, young man," he says; but quickly adds: "If you are the right kind of a young man." He is thinking of the hardy, adventurous, pioneer breed, filled with the spirit of those who spread civilization throughout the continental wilderness in days gone by. He says there is everything in Alaska to appeal to that sort—hunting, fishing, the opportunity to carve a home and farm out of the rough, to win fortunes in trade or mining, even to achieve enduring renown as founders of cities and States. He believes Alaska should appeal to the imagination and ambition of the finest elements of young American manhood, and especially to those whose pulses quickened to the music of the great war.

"How about young women?" I asked him. "Ah, they will follow the young men," he answered, "and I tell you they are needed right now. Men greatly outnumber women in the present population of the territory."

The Open Door in Alaska

For a long time Alaska was "bottled up." The Government was afraid to do anything for fear it would do something wrong. Secretary Payne stands for the policy of the open door. He sees vast resources awaiting the creative touch of capital and labor. He believes the time has come when those resources should contribute powerfully to the continued prosperity of the United States in general, and of the Pacific Coast in particular, and his chief dependence in bringing this to pass is old-fashioned American private enterprise, freed from artificial restrictions, so far as that may be done without injury to the public interests.

During his brief visit to the territory he had time to hold a hearing on railroad rates.

He reduced the rates. He wanted to make it easier to do business—not harder. The larger consideration was not to make the railroad pay immediately; but to help the country grow, so that the railroad would ultimately pay, as an incident of such growth. He is urging the Shipping Board to help out the sea traffic in the same way. He expects men to go out and conquer that wilderness in response to the elemental desire to get ahead in the world. He proposes to foster that desire on the theory that collective prosperity is the sum of individual prosperity. Alaska has tried the other plan; it hasn't worked.

The new plan will include the extension of the farm-loan system and the national reclamation policy to Alaska, if the Secretary has his way.

A Fine Public Spirit

If Secretary Payne is not a politician and only takes office when it is thrust upon him, he is none the less full of the joy of service and the finest public spirit. Not only has he administered four of the biggest jobs of the Government during the past three years, but he has found time and means for other good work. He recently presented his native State, Virginia, with a magnificent art collection; erected a Confederate monument in one of its towns; and gave his fine home at Elmhurst, near Chicago, for an orphanage. He also gave Dr. Roland Cotton Smith a commission to rehabilitate the historic "Church of the Presidents" (St. John's) in Washington, to his heart's content—"and send me the bill." The thing was beautifully done, and "Cotton Smith," as his friends affectionately call him, has been gazing at his gilded dome, and smiling ever since.



A VIEW OF ANCHORAGE, THE PRINCIPAL TERMINAL OF THE ALASKA GOVERNMENT RAILROAD AND SEAT OF THE ALASKA ENGINEERING COMMISSION—SHOWING HARBOR, RAILROAD, AND INDUSTRIES



THE NAVAL ACADEMY AT ANNAPOLIS, ON CHESAPEAKE BAY, AS PHOTOGRAPHED FROM AN AIRPLANE

AVIATION OVER THE WATER

BY BRIG.-GEN. WILLIAM MITCHELL

(Air Service, U. S. Army)

[The two articles on naval aviation presented herewith approach the subject from different viewpoints. In this first article, General Mitchell, who is head of our army's Air Service and a student of aviation for military purposes, writes particularly regarding the relation of aviation to naval warfare. Immediately following his article is one on the actual air service of the United States Navy as it is now taking shape. The second article is by Captain Thomas T. Craven, Director of Naval Aviation.—THE EDITOR.]

FUTURE control of the seas depends on the control of the air. This is so to an even greater extent than is the case on land, because on the sea the shipping—using the surface of the water—cannot conceal itself to the same extent that man or his equipment can be concealed on land. On the land it is of first importance that the enemy be prevented from seeing what the movements may be of one's own army; but on the sea, not only is this the case, but in addition shipping forms an ideal target for air attack. The only thing which it is difficult for air power to destroy at sea is the armored battleship; and this is largely due to the fact that the problem of the attack of battleships has not been studied and worked on to the same extent as has been the application of air power against things on land.

The characteristics of air power, in comparison with sea power, are, first, the pre-

dominant feature of speed which air power possesses. Navies move at the rate of twenty miles an hour, and may increase their speed about 30 per cent. when going into action; airplanes move in large bodies at the rate of 100 miles an hour, or over. They fight at speeds of about 150 miles an hour, while the fastest ones are approaching a rate of 200 miles per hour. The range of view from an airplane is almost infinite as compared with that from a ship on the water. At a height of 15,000 feet a radius of view of about fifty miles is possible; that is, a circle with a diameter of 100 miles. The size of an air force that can be employed in the air is unlimited. Airplanes communicate with one another by radio telephony, radio telegraphy, or visual signals, which have the speed of light. Airplanes can deploy into battle formations, from their traveling formations, in from one to two minutes. Their routes are

through the air and in accordance with their capacity for covering distances, mountains, deserts, or oceans are no obstacle.

An air force moves from three to six times as fast as the fastest ships of the navy. From its speed alone the air force has the power of taking the offensive against the navy and engaging it under its own conditions. The only defense against an air force is another air force; and, as an indispensable prelude to any engagement on the water, there must be an air battle to determine which side shall control the area above the water which is to be used by a fleet. Our doctrine of aviation, therefore, should be to find out where the hostile air force is; to concentrate on it on convergent lines, and destroy it; and then to attack and destroy the hostile shipping.

Many persons are led to believe that flying over the water requires a different kind of aviation, different methods in a military way, different tactics, and different training. This feeling was brought about largely as a result of the world war, where there was practically no air fighting over the water, and where the air forces used were employed merely for reconnaissance for submarines, and in attack against them. They did not have to fight other air forces to get to their destinations, and flew about in an unmolested manner. As a matter of fact, this is an entirely artificial use of aviation, because the Allies held the sea to a greater extent than has any nation, or combination of nations, in any of the wars of the past.

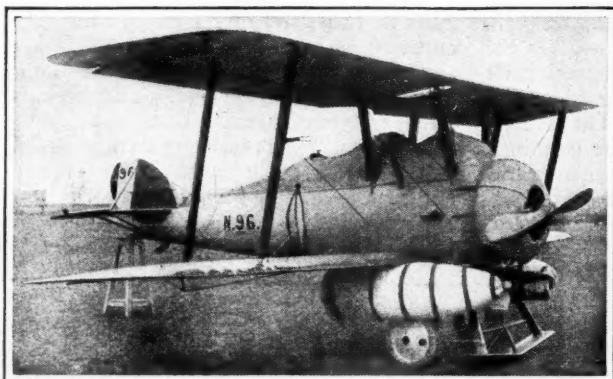
Their only menace was the submarine. As a matter of fact, in a future contest between countries, the control of the ocean

lanes will rest on a decisive battle between the opposing pursuit aviations; and in order to accomplish this all the air strength which a nation possesses will have to be concentrated at the decisive point. The principal difference between the employment of our airplanes over the water and over the land is in the character of airdrome, or landing place, that has to be used. This landing place may be on the land itself; it may be on the water itself; it may be a floating airdrome on the water, such as an airplane carrier, or a floating landing platform; or it may be even on an airship such as a Zeppelin. The reason that an airplane has a forced landing is either due to exhaustion of its fuel supply or on account of some accident. The number of forced landings from accidents are now very few, and are becoming fewer as the airplanes and engines are perfected.

"Landing" on Water

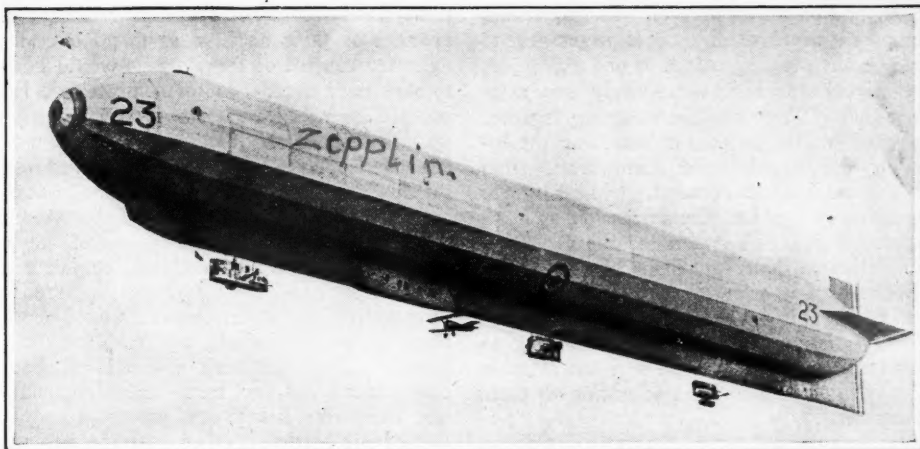
Airplanes that are designed to land on the water have permanent floats, or boats, under them. These constructions offer so much resistance to the air, and are so heavy, that they cut down the airplane's speed so much that they cannot compete, as to speed or maneuverability, with airplanes of the land type. As the only reason for having these floating supports under them is in case they land on the water; and as it is well known among air men that in case of war seaplanes of all kinds are practically helpless, this form of airplane is being abandoned more and more for military purposes as time goes on, because they would unquestionably be destroyed the minute an enemy was met that was properly organized for air fighting over the water.

Until recently military aviation over the water has been thought of by the ordinary person essentially in connection with navies. At first the development of aviation over the water took place in a manner similar to that which occurred on land; that is, merely as an auxiliary to the navies, for the purpose of reconnoitering to tell where the enemy fleet, or enemy formations, were, for the adjustment of artillery fire, and for keeping track of part of their own fleet. This, in theory, is a very



A BRITISH AIRPLANE EQUIPPED FOR DUTY FROM AN AIRPLANE CARRIER

(The machine is fitted with a fin, in front of the wheels, which prevents the plane from turning over on its nose when landing on the water. The bags under the wings are inflated from a reservoir in the fuselage, and will keep the airplane afloat for several days. When not inflated the air bags form a small package under the wings.)



A BRITISH AIRSHIP CARRYING AN AIRPLANE FOR PROTECTION AND FOR SCOUTING

(This is the beginning of what may some day develop into the carrying of numerous airplanes by these monster airships—the planes being used for scouting, protection, and pursuit in much the same way that torpedo-boat destroyers are used with battleships in the water)

simple matter—when no enemy is in the air to stop one's work. The airplanes could go out, find the enemy, report where he was by wireless, wait for the first shots to come from the cannon, tell their own fleet where they were striking, and proceed to adjust the fire in the ordinary way; that is, reporting the position of each shot with respect to the target.

Lessons of Jutland

When hostile pursuit aviation is encountered, however, this will all be changed. There were so few battles between fleets, as compared with the constant battles between armies, in the recent war, that aviation over the water was not developed to as great an extent as it was over the land; and nothing was done to show the absolute identity of the methods required in both cases, and that work in the air was essentially an air matter, no matter whether it was over the water or over the land. Even at the battle of Jutland, neither the British nor German fleets had any pursuit aviation with them. In this contest, the German Zeppelins kept up a constant patrol over the North Sea, from north to south, along a definitely established line, and reported to their own fleet the whereabouts of the British Naval detachments. The British planned to send their main fleet out from Scapa Flow, and attack the German main fleet; while a detachment of the British fleet was supposed to come up from the south, get in behind the German fleet, and cut off their line of retreat. The Zep-

pelins, however, reported all these moves to their own fleet, which made it possible for the Germans to extricate themselves, and at the same time cause the British fleet a great deal of damage. Had the Zeppelins been shot out of the air by pursuit aviation, or by other Zeppelins, the German fleet would have been without eyes, and the superior British fleet would have destroyed it.

The British themselves, in this battle, sent out a reconnoitering seaplane, which, although its speed was scarcely 100 miles an hour, was able to find the German fleet and report back to the British fleet without being molested in any way. It is, therefore, evident that if observation is to be carried out in the air for fleets, particularly with the long ranges at which artillery now fires—that is, from 40,000 to 60,000 or more yards—it will be necessary to fight off the hostile aviation before any observation work for a fleet can be done. This, then, requires that pursuit aviation be equipped so that it can fight over the water as well as over the land.

The Fighting Unit in the Air

The basis of pursuit aviation is the flight; that is, the greatest number of pursuit airplanes that can be directed personally by one man in the air. It ranges from not less than five to not more than seven airplanes; and is the actual fighting unit in pursuit aviation. Pursuit aviation relies for its effect on an enveloping or surrounding attack in three dimensions—that is, from above, from under-

neath, and on the same level. The squadron, composed of three flights, is organized to bring a surrounding attack in one dimension, the flights attacking successively one after the other. Three squadrons acting together are used for the purpose of attacking the opposing aviation on the same level, from above, and from underneath; while a fourth squadron is put into the formation as a reserve. This is the reason for the group organization of four squadrons of twenty-five airplanes each, or a total of 100 airplanes, and is the fighting unit of aviation. If pursuit aviation is not organized according to this system, it cannot cope with an aviation that is organized to fight according to these principles.

Airplane Carriers

The first nation to see this clearly was England, because her whole existence is bound up in keeping the ocean lanes free to and from the British Isles. The problem, of course, was primarily to equip pursuit aviation with airdromes that could move over the water, so that pursuit aviation could be kept up with and ahead of her fleets. Early in the European war she began to equip herself with airplane carriers. The first one of these was merely a large commercial steamer equipped with a deck on which the airplanes could take off and land, with a hangar deck immediately below this in which the airplanes could be kept ready for flight, and with machine-shop facilities, spare parts for the airplanes, and all other accessories for keeping them in condition on the ship. Her first carrier was the *Argus*, which had a deck 535 feet long and 68 feet broad. Her hangar held twenty airplanes, or practically a squadron. Her speed was only twenty knots. It was evident at once that any vessel having such a slow speed would not only be a prey to other warships, but also to submarines—not to mention destruction by hostile air attack—and there were many other things about this carrier which were not satisfactory, as it was the first attempt in this direction.

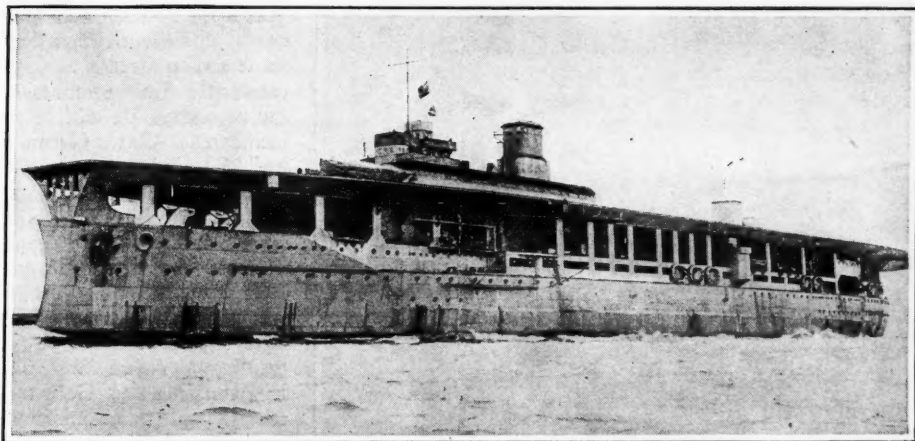
The next carrier to be built was a warship being constructed for a South American country, which was transformed into a carrier and renamed the *Eagle*. This ship is capable of carrying about forty airplanes in her hangars, or two squadrons. Still another carrier is the *Hermes*, with a speed of twenty-five knots; while more are being built. The British, however, recognized that

these vessels could not operate far enough in advance of their fleets so as to go out and fight for control of the air, but would have to stay near the fleet and be protected, because their speed was not great enough to protect themselves. Consequently, they took the vessels that were most readily available, that had the required speed and at the same time fighting power to ward off other vessels—that is, their battle cruisers—and transformed them into a combination carrier and battle cruiser. They are now reported to have a division of battle cruisers, or four of these high-speed vessels, equipped with airplanes. They all have a speed of about thirty-five knots, or forty miles an hour; and have very heavy gun power—equal to that of any battleship—and with the airplane carriers attached to them they have the power of concentrating the equivalent of one or more groups of pursuit aviation wherever they desire.

No other navy in the world is so equipped at the present time, and it is perfectly obvious that even with this comparatively crude equipment for handling air units over the water, the British can seize and hold command of the air in the vicinity of a fleet, and render a navy opposed to them not only totally blind—which is well known to be a decisive feature of modern warfare—but can also attack the opposing navy through the air with aerial weapons, so as to probably destroy it without the assistance of the gunfire of their ships. The air battle, in all probability, would take place from fifty to two hundred miles away from the airplane carriers, where hostile gunfire would play no part whatever, and where their own navy would run no risk.

Floating Airdromes

It should be noted that the whole development for the use of aircraft over the water is not in air tactics, in types of airplanes particularly, or in the securing and training of air personnel; but is essentially a development of floating airdromes. It is, therefore, evident that floating airdromes must be made to suit the requirements of the airplanes first—that is, if we are going to fight and drive out of the air an opposing aviation, we must bring to bear against it airplanes that can do the work. Next, the airplane carriers must be able to defend themselves against attack on the water. As to the first requirement, the airplane carriers should be capable of accommodating a complete tactical unit, or



THE BRITISH AIRPLANE CARRIER "EAGLE," WHICH ACCOMMODATES FORTY AIRPLANES

(The vessel was to have been a warship, built for a South American country; but with the development of airplane fighting in the war it was transformed into a carrier. There is a landing deck on top, and a hangar deck below. Two squadrons of airplanes, forty machines in all, could fly from airdromes on shore, land on the deck of this ship, and go to sea with it)

one group of 100 pursuit airplanes; and in the second case, in order to be able to defend itself, and be capable of taking the offensive quickly, it should have a speed of at least forty knots, or around fifty miles an hour, which is entirely possible at this time. To answer these requirements, the airplane carrier should be about 1000 feet in length, with a landing deck of this size. Its width would be over 100 feet and it could be equipped with all the facilities for handling the airplanes quickly either by day or by night. Even one airplane carrier of this kind would give the side possessing it complete control over the water at the present time, and render an opposing fleet incapable of acting with its observation aviation.

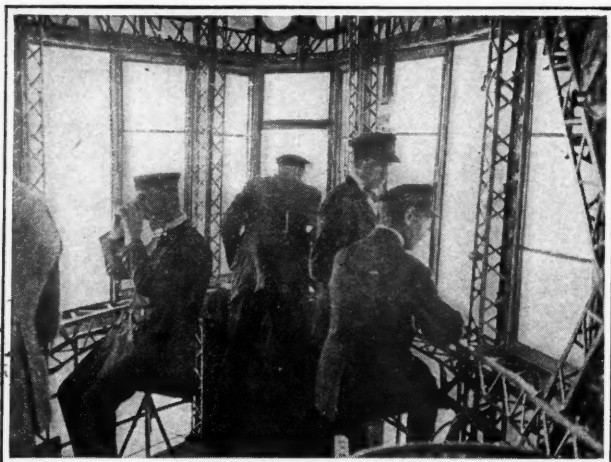
Projectiles Suited for Airplanes

The first problem over the water, therefore, as it is over land, is to assure command of the air by pursuit aviation; the next problem is to develop aerial means of destroying any enemy battleships that may be on the water. This can be done by airplanes carrying bombs, torpedoes, and chemical weapons. As airplanes always have the power of initiative in offense against battleships, it is entirely a question of developing proper weapons for sinking them. Almost nothing has been done along this line. What has been done might almost be described as "playing" with weapons adapted from some other device which has been used by either armies or navies. The bombs and fuses so far used were developed for work on land; the tor-

pedoes that are being tried from airplanes are those that were used from ships. These torpedoes were made to be launched at a rate of about sixteen yards a minute; the speed of the slowest airplane launching them is about ninety yards a minute. Their specific gravity is almost the same as that of the water, so that if they are launched from any height they immediately sink; and the airplanes have to get within twenty or thirty feet of the water in order to make them work properly. Torpedoes are launched sideways from surface vessels. They attempt to launch them forward in the air, and have to approach within 1000 yards or so of a battleship in order to be successful in their attempt. All of these things amount to making an adaptation of the water torpedo for air work against moving shipping almost useless as a practical proposition. Some foreign nations have devised torpedoes with wings on them which drop off as they strike the water, thereby allowing the torpedo to be launched from a height. This is the beginning of a solution of this problem. The point is, however, that torpedoes, or any projectiles or armament, must be designed essentially for work in the air.

Carriers for Bombardment Aviation

Airplane carriers to carry bombardment aviation should be provided, to accompany the pursuit carriers; which can be done just as it is for pursuit aviation. In order to assure close bombardment attack of navies, and to nullify any dangerous effect which



THE NAVIGATING CABIN OF A GERMAN ZEPPELIN

(There is almost as much room here as in the corresponding compartments of an ocean liner. These airships are built to remain in the air for many days, covering thousands of miles of territory. They are equipped with radio-telegraphic apparatus, and can navigate in any kind of weather.)

anti-aircraft, machine guns, or searchlights might have on these ships, our attack aviation should be developed for use at very low altitudes against them; that is, the armored attack planes could engage them in single column, so as to keep the battleships under constant machine-gun and cannon fire at an altitude not to exceed from 100 to 300 feet. This would keep any observation personnel, anti-aircraft crews, and lookouts on the battleships pretty well occupied in watching this low flying attack, if nothing else. Our experience in the war has shown us that we can nullify searchlights and anti-aircraft equipment to a great extent in this way; so that really the solution of control of the sea lanes is not in a great battleship and its accessories, but in the provision of a suitable air force and its accessory airplane carriers. These should be provided to carry aviation in the following proportions: about 60 per cent. pursuit aviation, 20 per cent. bombardment aviation, and 20 per cent. attack aviation.

Airships for Surveillance

For long-distance surveillance over the seas (by surveillance is meant going out and remaining in observation of what one sees, and reporting back from the position by radio telegraphy, instead of coming back and making a personal report) airships should be used. The number of the airships should be dependent on the amount of front that has to be covered. To cover our Eastern and

Western coasts, and our north and south frontiers, no less than twenty airships, constantly in commission, are necessary. It will be remembered that Germany had 123 airships in commission during the war. By airships are meant large, rigid cruisers of the Zeppelin type—not the little gasbags that we are used to seeing in this country, which have little value except for training. Again we find England, next to Germany, taking up this important problem and solving it. Airships cannot be provided overnight; and no matter what the engineering knowledge may be as to the construction of these giants

of the air, and no matter how expert the personnel may be in the handling of smaller airships, a great deal of practice is needed in order to perfect the work of these important elements in aeronautics.

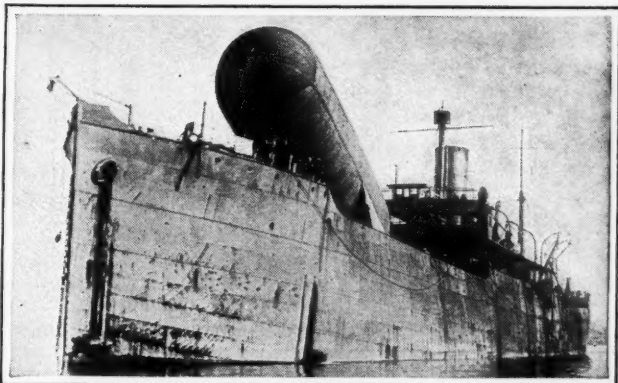
The mission of the airship over the sea, from a military standpoint, is to find out and report the existence, strength, position, and probable intention of hostile air forces and shipping; to fight hostile airships; to attack surface craft; and then to be used as a post of command for aircraft with which they are acting. The airship has just as great use over land, if not greater, as over water from the standpoint of reconnaissance, offensive work against enemy elements, and as means of transportation. An efficient Zeppelin service depends primarily on an efficient system of airship stations or docks where these ships can be brought into port, housed under all conditions of climate and, in case there is a storm where they desire to land, they can have an alternate place to go to and from which they can leave under all conditions of atmosphere. These stations should be arranged with hangars radiating out from a central turn-table; and the construction and maintenance of such stations by the Government would not only insure their use in case of military operations, but also would encourage the civil and commercial use of these great carriers.

Each nation is solving its air problem in accordance with its particular position and national policy. Germany sees no use in

having aircraft carriers in a future war with England, because the distances from England to the Continent are so short that airplanes can operate directly from land bases. The maximum distance from the northern part of the British Isles to the European Continent is about 500 miles; while the minimum distance across the English Channel is only eighteen miles. Germany's air policy against England, therefore, would be to construct airplanes capable of sinking the British shipping. Of course, in order to do this they must be covered by sufficient pursuit aviation to insure their action. The air force, therefore, will take the place of Germany's destroyed navy, not only as a means of defense on land and sea, but as her great offensive weapon. France sees an enemy to the north of her as her greatest menace in the future; and knows that these same heavy airplanes designed for work over the North Sea against the British shipping can knock out her centers of production, large cities, and railroad lines to a great extent. She also knows that the German nation is more populous, and will become even more so, than is France; that Germany can concentrate her fighting forces probably quicker than France on the frontier. Her air service is therefore designed to fight the Germans in the air, which means pursuit aviation; and to attack the German columns as they march to the front on the roads and railroads, which requires a sort of combination of bombardment and attack aviation. England, as has been explained before, has to insure her sea lanes of communication; and has really solved the problem to a great extent already.

The American Air Problem

Our problem in America is quite different from what we find in Europe. We have 3000 miles of water to the east of us; we have about twice that distance directly west of us. It is true that in the North Atlantic, by going from Canada from island to island, there is no stretch of water more than about 300 miles; while in the North Pacific, Bering Straits are fifty-two miles wide, with two islands in the

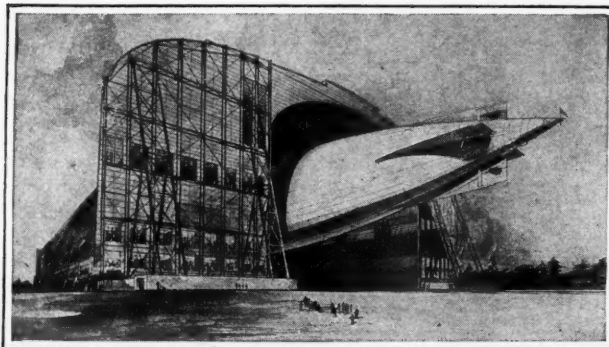


A BRITISH BALLOON SHIP USED AT THE DARDANELLES

(The vessel is equipped with hangars for balloons. They have also gas-making plants and all the equipment necessary for keeping the balloons in commission. Such vessels are very useful in caring for airships either on shore or on the water)

middle, making a maximum distance of twenty-one miles over the water. At the present moment, no nation is equipped with sufficient means of transport through the air to utilize these routes quickly as a means of supply for her airplane units. Germany could have done it with her airships had they not been dismantled and taken away from her by the Allies. The control of these waters, therefore, resolves itself into a question of aircraft carriers. Aircraft carriers cost far less than the cost of one battleship, and can be produced, equipped, and put in service in a comparatively short time. When this comes about, the air force will constitute the first line of defense of the country. The navy may be second, or it may be entirely eliminated. Not to recognize this fact is to do the "ostrich act," and to hide our head in the sand while everyone else in the world is progressing along this line. It will not come at once, but by progressive steps. In case of war, the same air organizations that fight over the land will embark on the aircraft carriers, and fight over the water. Directional wireless will bring the planes back to their carriers either by night or by day. The whole force will be handled from the air by radio, and the carriers will move at their great speed wherever they are directed to go.

A nation unequipped to concentrate her whole air force over the water, if the decision lies there, can just as well leave her navies tied up to the wharves, instead of sending them out to certain destruction against a hostile country equipped for this purpose. England to-day can hold absolute



THE LARGEST HANGAR IN THE WORLD, IN PROCESS OF ERECTION
AT LAKEHURST, N. J.

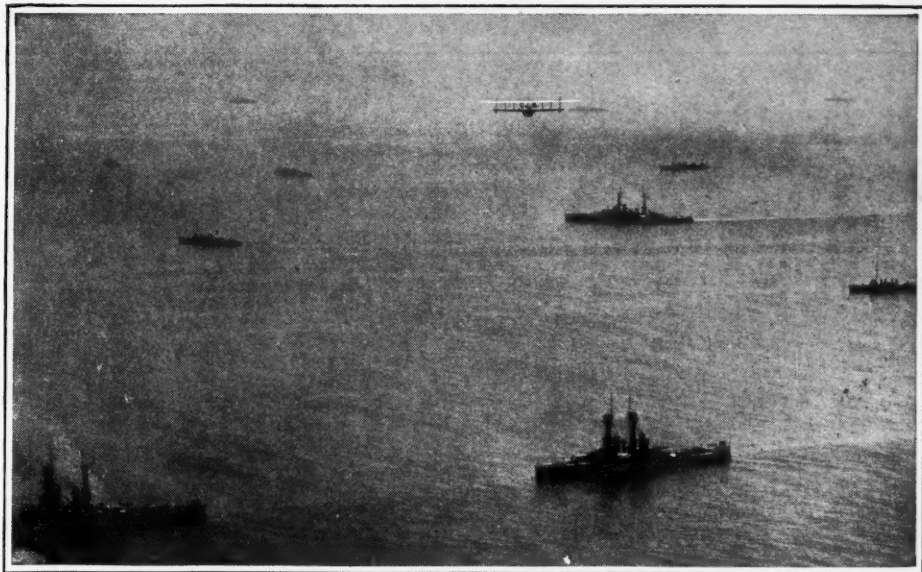
(The building will accommodate two rigid airships. The inside dimensions are: length, 1060 feet; width, 258 feet; height, 172 feet)

mastery over the sea against a navy several times her strength, and apparently will soon be in a position where she will need little or no navy to guard her sea lanes in case of danger, as the air force will do it. A contest, therefore, between the United States and a country equipped for fighting in the air would be disastrous at the present time. Having assumed command of the sea, the aircraft carriers could launch their airships against our cities—such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and points further inland—and cause a tremendous destruction, if not paralysis, to our means of communication and production. It is often said, by those unfamiliar with airplane bombardment, that a great deal of damage was not caused by them during the war. These statements often have not taken into consideration the character of equipment that was used at that time compared to what it is now. At that time the airplanes could not carry the heavyweights, nor were they equipped with the heavy bombs that it is now possible to use. One heavy bomb will destroy a whole block of ordinary houses and buildings such as one finds in this country. Whole districts in Europe were denuded of their population entirely, due to airplane bombardment. When industrial districts were attacked, the workers were made so nervous that whenever the buzz of an airplane was heard it made them stop work and think or talk about it during the rest of the day; while at night the constant fear of bombardment attacks prevented sleep. These districts were kept entirely in the dark for months. The result was a partial paralysis of all traffic at night, causing a

great many accidents, wear and tear on the equipment, and innumerable other serious inconveniences, all as a result of these bombardments.

Coast Defense

Our country, therefore, if unequipped with the proper aviation, in case of war, would become exposed to the air attack not only from the carriers, but probably from bases seized and occupied on land. The only defense against it is a proper air organization for the defense of the coast. This should consist of a good airship organization, with some 12 airship stations distributed throughout the country; next, a line of observation airdromes, deployed along the coast at about 200-mile intervals, (these would be for the purpose of determining where the hostile air force or airplane carriers were coming from); with airplanes capable of maintaining themselves from 8 to 12 hours in constant flight. Behind this line of observation we should concentrate our offensive elements of aviation; that is, our pursuit, attack, and bombardment units, in central positions, so that they could be launched together against the hostile forces. A direct attack against the hostile airplane carriers would force hostile pursuit aviation to rally for the defense of their carriers, and cause the battle for control of the air to be fought in and around them, instead of over our own territory. In case the hostile air forces were destroyed, the airplane carriers could be attacked directly by the airships; but without equipment of this kind, the airplane carriers could escape without molestation. We can obtain more security from a wise organization of our air forces, dollar for dollar, as a means of coast defense, than from any other one element. While we need every branch of national defense to form the team, we must not lose sight of the fact that our aviation at present is the weakest link in our chain, that we are the one country which can maintain and support an aviation more easily than any other, and that it is more important for our national defense that we maintain a large air force than is the case with any other nation.



A GROUP OF SURFACE CRAFT, AS VIEWED FROM THE AIR

OUR NAVY'S AIR SERVICE

BY CAPTAIN THOMAS T. CRAVEN

(Director of Naval Aviation)

INVENTION during the past two decades has greatly increased the power of all naval arms. Augmented velocity has lengthened the range and improved both accuracy and hitting power of guns, the supremacy of which as weapons until the present has been unchallenged. Through increase of bursting charge, of speed, and of range, the effectiveness of the torpedo has been vastly developed. Mining is now practicable in depths and to an extent not deemed possible until the very recent past. The bomb, an ancient implement of war, has again taken on serious importance because of its content of high explosive, capable of spreading consternation broadcast. Smoke for purposes of concealment or of masking the efforts of the enemy remains as it has been for centuries, an active agent; the effects of smoke, however, have been mightily supplemented through the potent influences of gas with which the enemy may now be drenched.

As science has improved weapons, so also has it supplied better means for their conveyance. The speed of all classes of naval craft has constantly increased, and to-day there are water-borne units which rival an express train moving on steel rails in the

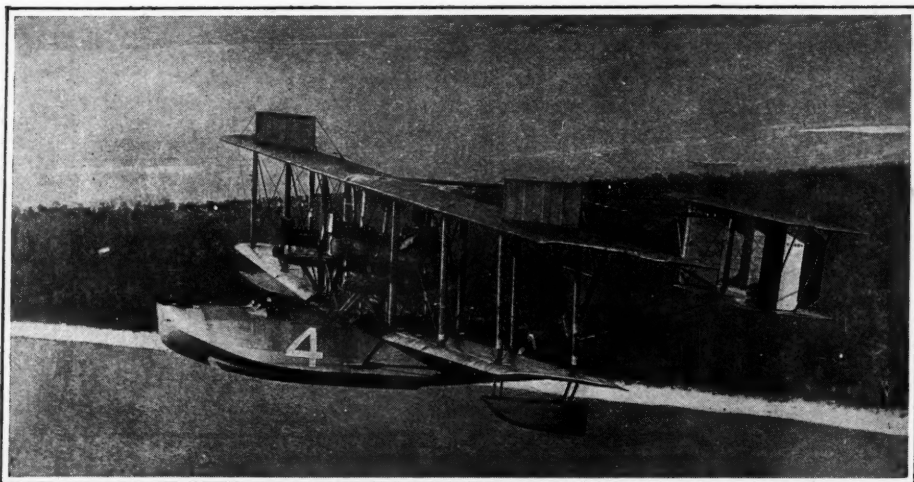
velocities which they are capable of sustaining. Oil as fuel has improved mobility, which, with increases of speed, supplies the means for loosing surprise with attendant consternation upon the adversary.

The stealthy submarine has demonstrated an ability to fill a definite and an important rôle in the arena, not conceded to it until recently by older seamen.

Finally, we see a new and valuable arm—**aeronautics**—given to the navy.

Because of the stupendous effectiveness of the tools of warfare, the terrific speeds with which they can be applied, and the great areas over which operations may be conducted, the importance of intelligence is paramount. The air has become the medium of greatest value for the procurement of the information essential for the application of force and the full utilization of mobility which permits the seizure of opportunity. Conversely, it is of maximum importance to control this medium, in order to deny information to one's adversary.

We find the navies of all countries occupied with the solution of problems involving scouting and screening in the air. The worth of lighter-than-air ships, particularly



THE FAMOUS "NC-4" FLYING ALONG THE FLORIDA COAST

(This is the naval seaplane which successfully completed the first trans-Atlantic flight)

of the great rigid, for the purposes of over-seas observation was shown during the struggle recently terminated.

Lighter-than-Air Ships for Scouting

For a time these vessels were utilized to reinforce the effort over land and in some cases their operation was attempted by the army. Everywhere, however, ultimately they became recognized as units of questionable offensive value in the ability to deliver attack. Their most important rôle was that of scouting, and the sea was the area over which they were of maximum effectiveness. In Germany and in all other countries the control of these ships passed into naval hands.

We are continuing our lighter-than-air development. At present the United States Navy is utilizing its non-rigid ships, equaling any produced abroad, for training and exercise. In England we are having erected a rigid, larger and more powerful than any yet built. It was necessary to go to England, the only country in which the vessel could be procured, for our first great sea scout, as we were entirely without experience not only in the art of building but in the operation of huge lighter-than-air rigid units. The markets of Germany, the birthplace of the Zeppelin, were not open to us for these purposes.

The construction of a similar ship is proceeding in this country, and marks the beginning of a new industry in America. In Lakehurst, N. J., the largest hangar in the

world is nearing completion. When finished it will accommodate two vessels, and will be used for the erection and housing of rigid airships. At Cape May another hangar for one ship is being erected. Funds have been appropriated and it is the intention to proceed to construct a large double hangar for rigids on the West Coast as soon as the land for this purpose can be procured.

Large Seaplanes

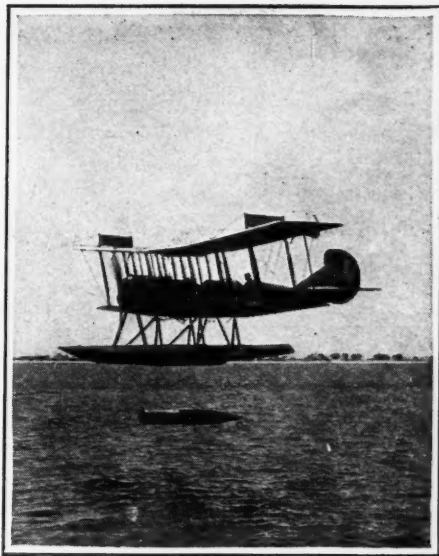
The plaudits of the world which hailed the splendid performance of the NC flying boats, equipped with Liberty engines, was a wonderful tribute to the success of their design. The interesting development of large seaplanes continues, and the navy is now engaged in the construction of a great multi-engined craft, twice the weight of an NC, the biggest and most powerful of her kind. Machines of this type should be capable of defending themselves strongly against an attack and be valuable in far-flung scouting or bombing operations. The F-5-L boat, produced during the war, is also a very satisfactory naval craft for scouting purposes. Squadrons of F-5 machines have been in operation for some time with both Atlantic and Pacific Fleets. The Atlantic group, consisting of six boats with a tender, accompanied our ships to the West Indies in last winter's maneuvers, and flew upwards of 12,000 miles without mishap of any kind.

The large boat, while not as handy and quick in the air as a land machine, combines air-worthiness aloft to a marked degree with

weatherly qualities when down upon the surface of the water. Until there is far greater reliability of power plants, the latter detail cannot be entirely ignored in designs for overseas employment.

Aircraft Carried on Ships

The development of heavier-than-air machines, rugged yet handy, light but dependable; capable of flying from ships; of conveying personnel to observe and to battle with the enemy, and to assist in controlling the fire of the ships' artillery, is everywhere proceeding. The handling of such machines, and of those capable of carrying the great bombs loaded with high explosives or gas, or of conveying torpedoes, is filled with complications. There are serious objections to the stowage of flying craft on turrets where they interfere with vision from conning tower and bridge, and add one more serious burden to the great mental load already carried by the captain of a dreadnought. However impracticable the idea at present, we confidently look forward to the day when aircraft will be transported by all classes of naval vessels. At present fleets expect the carrier to furnish the primary means for permitting the opera-



A NAVY SEAPLANE DROPPING A TORPEDO

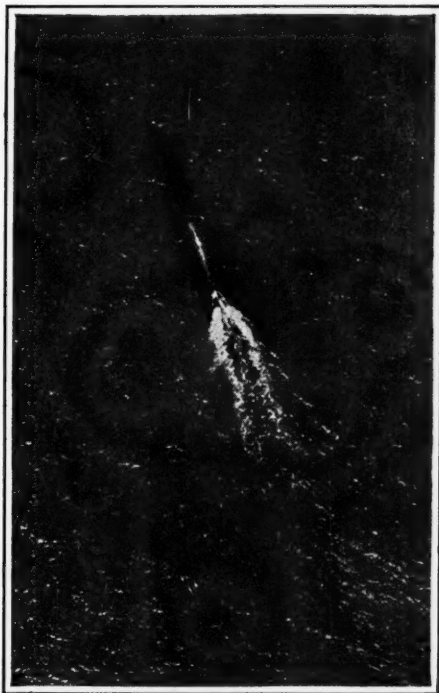
tion of these units. It can be readily understood, however, that but one machine may leave the deck of a carrier at a time, and that when a flying machine is returning to a carrier the entire deck space must be made available. Hence we see the limitations of these large but necessary fleet adjuncts, as compared with the far better facilities afforded by land fields.

The navy is busy converting the former collier *Jupiter* into a carrier with which to gain experience with such units. In a modest way the usefulness of these craft may be studied through the operation of this slow ship now renamed the *Langley*, in honor of our great American pioneer in aviation. It is needless to note in passing that alighting on the deck of this vessel at sea will require great skill on the part of the flier.

The *Wright*, named for one of the brothers who demonstrated the practicability of aeronautics, will soon be commissioned as a floating aviation base or tender.

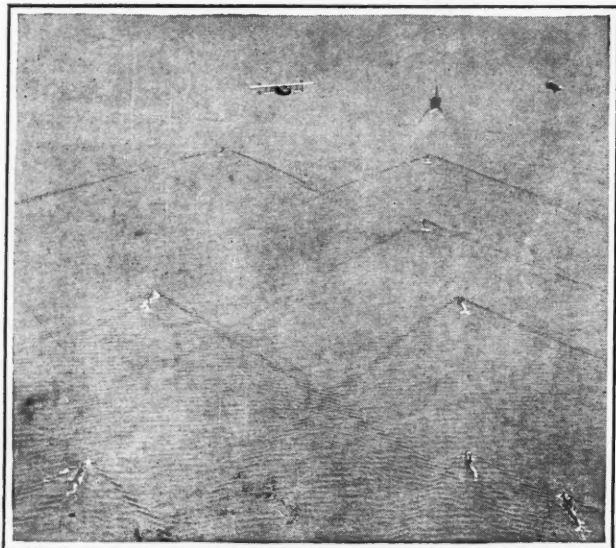
Torpedo-Work, Bombing, and Gun-Fire

Training, for expertness in the employment of torpedoes, is one of the most difficult of naval tasks. The laying down of ranges, the preliminary adjustments of the torpedo, the care of the mechanism and the running of the weapon together with the operations necessary for its recovery in the event of its sinking or of a bad run, all supply difficulties. These complications we see further involved



A SUBMERGED SUBMARINE, WITH PERISCOPE EXPOSED, AS SEEN FROM AN AIRCRAFT

Oct.—5



A GROUP OF SUBMARINES CONVOYED BY AIRCRAFT

(Besides the airplane, which is conspicuous in the picture, an airship can also be discovered in the upper right corner)

through the introduction of the torpedo plane, requiring the presence of landing fields, conveniently near to torpedo ranges.

The study of the use of the bomb as a naval weapon is proceeding and in the near future the navy will carry on experimental bombing practice against an old battleship—the first operation of this nature so far undertaken by any nation for the purpose of investigating the destructive effects of this weapon. The control of gun-fire from naval vessels moving at high speed is far more complicated and difficult than is the control of artillery on land. The business of reconnaissance and scouting at sea are also entirely different from these operations as conducted by our brothers ashore. The usefulness of aircraft for these purposes is hampered materially by difficulty of communicating promptly and surely, and by uncertainty of position and navigational inaccuracies. Already we have developed radio to an extent almost inconceivable, and it has become possible for an aircraft to proceed directly to a ship at sea a couple of hundred miles away, through the employment of the radio direction finder. The good work goes on with the confident expectation that soon science will give us surety in our communication and in aerial navigation over blue water.

The above indicates a few but far from all of the specific technical details, the

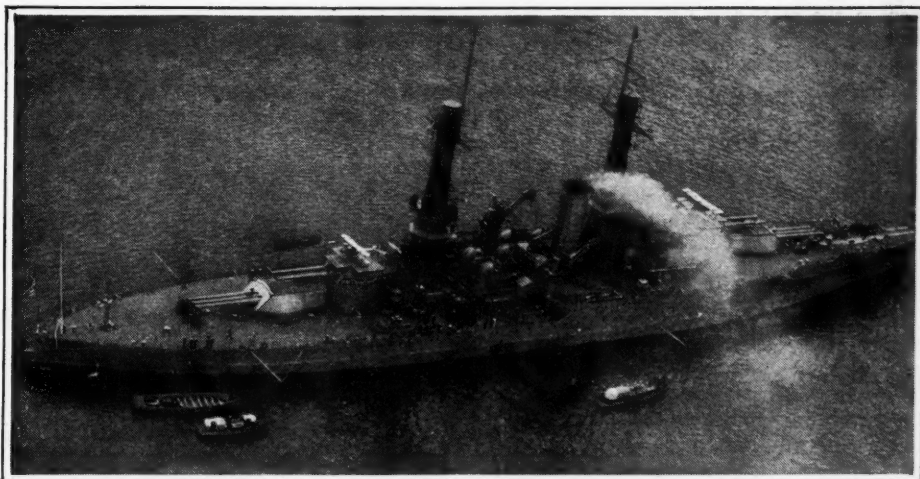
mastery of which will confer on those who are successful a wonderful advantage in naval operations in wars of the future. They also suggest some of the problems confronting the naval aviator. That he must be acquainted with the sea and with ships would seem indisputable. It is not sufficient for the aviator only to be able to fly his machine and to employ its armament, but also he must be competent to coördinate his work with that of his associates over the land or over the sea. Just as the technical knowledge requisite for the soldier in the ordinary performance of his duties may be less than that essential for the sailor, so the technical information necessary for the

air-man operating with troops possibly is less than for him whose work is in conjunction with ships. Though it is entirely true that fighting in the air is the same, whether carried on over the land or over the sea, the placing of combatant forces in contact properly is an all-important factor in battle, and, if only to assist in this, the naval aviator must be conversant with many things of which the landsman is entirely ignorant.

Should an Independent Air Service Be Created?

Operations carried on in war, strategically independent of either an army or a navy, are at present inconceivable, and the bulk of aviation work must for long be closely interlinked with land or sea tactical effort. Hostile operations involving the use of aircraft must be under the control of the service, the effort of which is supreme in the theater of conflict. When the Air Force dominates, then automatically will control pass into the hands of the aviator. There are those who advocate the establishment of a new and united air service at once, regardless of all the arguments which may be advanced against the measure. The plans suggested by the proponents of such a measure are alluring, but will not stand close scrutiny.

The wise man is he who looks to the future and anticipates what may produce troubles that clog the machinery which it



A UNITED STATES BATTLESHIP WITH AIRPLANES ON THE BIG GUN TURRETS, FORE AND AFT

is his wish to operate. With adequate and proper preparation difficult problems of execution are automatically dissolved. In fact, such problems may never be presented to the far-sighted leader. Without adequate preparation, a minor and unexpected incident may destroy balance completely and wreck utterly an elaborate mechanism.

Those who have controlled policies successfully in the past have wisely held that a strongly united effort was the kind most likely to produce harmony requisite for complete military success. Their endeavor was to produce a family, closely knit with strong ties, based on proud traditions. Without these a military organization is badly handicapped in dealing with one more fortunate in its history. The different units making up the Fleet, or any combined force must have a common doctrine or understanding. It is essential that each thoroughly comprehends not only the rôle belonging to itself, but how this rôle is to be adjusted to those assigned other contingents. All must think in the same terms and have singleness of purpose; eccentricity is to be avoided.

Any measure of success which the navy of the United States has attained in past wars may be ascribed to an appreciation of this axiomatic truth. It supplies the compelling reason for retaining the Marine Corps as an adjunct to the navy for expeditionary work. Were it not a convincing argument, the Marine Corps might well be detached from the naval service and assigned directly to the army, where it would soon lose all amphibious characteristics.

The mighty engines which constitute naval power cannot be coördinated in war or on the day of battle unless they have been brought together under one mind during the times of peace when preparation for the stern business of war is made. The Commander-in-Chief in battle must be the Commander-in-Chief in preparation for action—he should control the training for battle. He alone is in position to prescribe the characteristics to be incorporated in the mechanisms which are to be his to operate tactically in the trying days of national emergency. Naval aviation is largely experimental, and the time for standardization in types, in mechanisms, and in methods, has not yet arrived. At present both economy and efficiency demand that the peace production of its flying equipment be left in the hands of the naval service.

Through the establishment of an organization suggested by certain supporters of aviation, it is proposed to abandon present arrangements, and by wide changes, with attendant delays and confusion, to place the control of the production of all machines, as well as the activities of the Air Services of the Army, the Navy, and all other departments, under a single and independent office.

It is true that almost all armies and navies have been slow and remiss in adopting new arms, inventions, and ideas. The artificiality of normal military and naval life in times of peace appears to encourage this failing. Aviation brings the two services into far closer contact to-day than they have ever

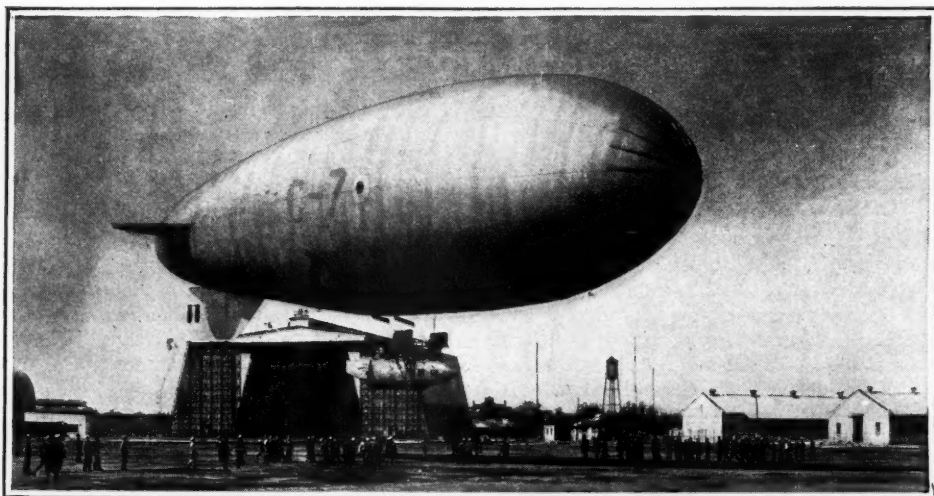
been in the past, and both are now keenly interested in the solution of a common problem. Equally they are alive to the fact that aviation is to be reckoned with seriously, and each is now preparing to work out the future of the art, if given a chance. What should be done for them? Time is being lost, effort wasted, and issues are befogged through fruitless discussion as to the ideal means to be adopted. Each governmental department, as well as all commercial enterprises which may utilize the art of flying, desire to adopt it and to employ it only in the fashion each deems most expedient for its own business, and by encouraging them to do so we obtain the best and most expeditious way in which to make aviation of practical usefulness. It is evident that results can be obtained now and directly by encouraging the established Air Services of the various departments and by bringing these into close contact with one another. By compelling them to work together in harmony and to sink personal and individual interests the advance of the important cause in which all are deeply concerned will be insured.

The problem of developing aviation, of placing the new industry upon its feet, and of overcoming the inertia of service conservatism, must be attacked directly. Legislation should give to each department of the Government employing aviation an organization for dealing with aviation matters

which will permit their complete coöperation.

Having secured similar organizations in the various departments, immediate steps to prevent duplication and to insure coördination in progressive development between the various services are requisite. To this end, the Aeronautical Board which now operates only through the good will of its members, should be legalized and given definite and legal responsibilities.

In view of past history it is unreasonable to expect our country to maintain a national military aviation organization adequate to prevent invasion or to supply a sufficient reserve of military and naval flying personnel for the purposes of the furtherance of national policies, extending to distant corners of the globe. Both the Army and the Navy, therefore, are vitally concerned in the promotion of civil aeronautics. Through its advancement, technical and inventive talent, industrial facilities for the production and operation of planes, together with the development of skilled man power in great strength, all valuable military assets, are provided. Successful civil inventive genius must be recognized through competition in the design and operation of air craft promoted by the government, and suitably rewarded. The enactment of laws for the licensing of pilots and the inspection of machines, thereby making for safety and for the promotion of interest in flying, is the plain duty of our legislative bodies.



THE "C" TYPE OF NAVY DIRIGIBLE AIRSHIP

(A vessel of this class made a successful flight last year from the station at Rockaway, near New York City, to St. John's, Newfoundland—a distance of 1022 miles, in 26 hours. While at Newfoundland, however, the airship was lost in a gale. Had that accident not occurred the vessel would probably have been the first aircraft to cross the Atlantic)

THE DEPRECIATED FOREIGN EXCHANGES

THAT the foreign exchanges should have suffered depreciation in this market during the course of the war was not surprising. But it is not quite clear to most people why they should have continued weak for so long a time after the cessation of hostilities. In fact, the exchanges have displayed greater demoralization and fallen to much lower levels during the two years that have elapsed since the armistice. The explanation, of course, lies in the fact that during the war the principal European governments took arbitrary steps to control and stabilize their exchanges; whereas since then the latter have been left to shift for themselves.

It need hardly be said that those measures were only made effective because of government war regulations. Otherwise the free play of natural economic forces would have been asserted; for nowhere else do the natural laws of supply and demand, or self-interest, work more readily than in the foreign exchanges. By regulating commerce, controlling banking operations, absorbing available gold, coralling the negotiable securities of citizens and by sundry other restrictions the warring governments were able to make entirely futile and impotent those factors that usually influence the exchange movements.

That the usual economic influences were entirely subordinated to arbitrary regulations was indicated by the fact that the European central banks' discount rates were relegated to a position of "innocuous desuetude" during the war. The necessity for keeping money rates down at home in order to facilitate the flotation of war loans made it inexpedient, if, indeed, it were ever possible, to raise bank rates so as to turn the exchanges favorable, the first obvious course in normal times. Thus we saw the Bank of England rate lowered from 10 per cent. to 5 per cent. soon after the outbreak of the war, to remain there throughout most of the period of hostilities and the sterling rate in New York kept, nevertheless, measurably close to parity. With the abandonment of the ex-

changes to private activities after peace was restored the bank rate has again been brought into play. But in spite of an advance to 7 per cent. in the central discount rate, sterling in New York has fallen away sensationally.

How necessary and advantageous the stabilizing measures were at the time is better appreciated in retrospect. Through the agency of J. P. Morgan & Co., Great Britain kept sterling steadfastly "pegged" here from January, 1916, until March, 1919, at only about 2 per cent. below parity, and France kept francs stabilized for practically the same period, with almost equal success, at a discount of about 6 per cent. With the billions upon billions spent here for war supplies, what would it have cost those governments if sterling had been allowed to fall to below 30 per cent. and francs to more than 70 per cent. discount—as has been the case since those exchanges were "unpegged"!

It is rather necessary to refer back to those war-time experiences and happenings in order to enable the layman better to appreciate present conditions and the factors operating to keep the exchanges at excessive discounts. Events have been so extraordinary, both during the war and since, so utterly without precedent, that only a study of past cause and effect will afford a proper realization of what is taking place to-day.

Why Foreign Exchanges Here Continued Weak

With the ending of hostilities and the gradual termination of war purchases on this side, on contract, the principal belligerent governments which conducted effective control of their exchanges here ceased to take further interest in the matter, and accordingly, discontinued their stabilizing efforts. Not only did their actual financial interest come to an end but they were confronted with the domestic problem of rehabilitating their economic positions. By letting exchange go it was sought to impose such penalties upon private importations of mer-

chandise into their respective countries that home industries might be stimulated and exports encouraged so as to bring about a correction in the adverse trade balance that had grown to formidable proportions during the war.

Here we have the most potent explanation of why the foreign exchanges here continued to display such persistent weakness. This condition has been encouraged by the foreign treasuries and governments. It might be said they aimed to depress their currencies abroad with as much purpose as they sought to stabilize them near parity during the war. It was to the national advantage to let the exchanges abroad fall—the lower the better.

Inordinate Demand for Goods

But a post-war phenomenon had to be reckoned with—a phenomenon which has been no less in evidence in the United States than in other parts of the world; namely an acute and feverish demand for goods and materials of all kinds. A remarkable result of the recent conflict has been the eagerness with which the people of the victorious nations sought to rehabilitate their circumstances after the severe deprivations through which they had passed. After four years of the greatest economic havoc the world has ever seen, there has been nothing resembling prostration. All the suppressed and pent-up buying power seemed to be let loose after the armies were disbanded. Labor has been largely emancipated from the cramping conditions that shackled it before the war, creating an enlarged purchasing element in the world. In this country we have had occasion to witness the effect of inordinate demands for both essentials and non-essentials.

In short, the whole world had become immensely "richer," and not poorer, as a result of the war. National and international desires to become possessed of goods commensurate with new conceptions of

wealth have been more responsible for the great world-wide demands and high prices than the actual restoration of losses caused by the war, great as they have been. This is indicated by the fact that the former devastated countries of Europe have done without those loans from America for reconstruction purposes which at one time were thought necessary, even urgent, and the fact that much of what has been exported from the United States during the past two years of peace has gone to countries not actually damaged by the war, not overlooking the fact that some of those countries, like England, have required quantities of raw material for re-export in the shape of manufactured articles.

Thus, in one respect, the end sought by the foreign governments has been slow of attainment. It has been a two-year riot of buying and spending throughout the world, in the face of which the foreign exchanges only fell to greater and greater discounts.

So keen has been the European demand, particularly, for our supplies that the penalty of a heavy premium on the dollar (which was reflected in discounts on some of the currencies of the allied nations in this market running up to 70 per cent. and 80 per cent.) has failed to discourage importations from this country. Strange as this may seem it is easily understood when one considers how little our own consumers have been deterred by the abnormally high prices prevailing.

The greatest weakness in quotations has been witnessed this year, as may be seen from the accompanying table, giving the highest and lowest rates recorded by the principal exchanges since the outbreak of the war, with their respective premiums and discounts. Some of the foreign currencies in this market are still displaying a downward tendency.

An idea of the extent of the foreign buying here is gathered from the United States commerce figures. It is necessary to have

Exchange on	Per Unit	Parity	High			Low (all dates in 1920)		
			Rate	Premium	Date	Rate	Discount	Date
London	£	\$4.8665	\$7.00	43.8%	Aug. 4, 1914	\$3.18	84.7%	Feb. 4
Paris	Franc	.193	.33½	71.5%	Aug. 4, 1914	.0579	70%	Aug. 12
Amsterdam	Guilder	.402	.52¾	30%	Aug. 9, 1918	.31¼	22%	Aug. 22
Berlin	Mark	.2382	.27½	15.5%	Aug. 4, 1914	.0101	85.8%	Jan. 28
Milan	Lira	.193	.25	30%	Aug. 4, 1914	.0373	81.7%	Apr. 12
Berne	Franc	.193	.2597	34.6%	May 20, 1918	.1628	15.3%	Sept. 11
Stockholm	Krona	.268	.47	75.4%	Nov. 2, 1917	.1630	29.2%	Feb. 4
Christiania	Krone	.268	.39	45.6%	Oct. 27, 1917	.1380	48.1%	Aug. 25
Copenhagen	Krone	.268	.39	45.6%	Oct. 27, 1917	.1375	48.1%	Aug. 25
Madrid	Peseta	.193	.30	55.4%	Apr. 17, 1918	.1470	23.6%	Sept. 11

these figures in mind in order to arrive at a proper understanding of the influences bearing upon the exchanges. Shown herewith are the monthly totals of our imports and exports for the past seven months, as compared with the same periods in 1919 and 1918; also the commerce record for the calendar years 1919, 1918, and 1917. When one considers that the annual excess

of exports over imports in the years immediately preceding the war was in the neighborhood of \$500,000,000 it will be realized why the American dollar has commanded even higher premiums abroad while the foreign currencies here were automatically sinking to lower and lower levels.

Emphasis must be laid on these foreign commerce figures as they are "all the law and the prophets" of the exchange situation.

A glance at the comparative figures for the past seven months reveals the noteworthy fact that the export balance is over \$1,200,000,000 smaller than for the same period last year! It is about \$200,000,000 less than for the same period of 1918.

That this development is not brought about by discouragement of foreign purchases here because of prohibitive exchange rates is indicated by the monthly export totals, which for the seven months aggregate nearly \$300,000,000 more than last year. It is due entirely to the steadily rising tide of imports. For the seven months the outside world has shipped us \$1,500,000,000 more of goods than during the same period a year ago! Allowing for all the discrepancies of values and quantities this is truly a significant exhibit.

There are several deductions to be made from this. Not only has the discount on the foreign exchanges been more instrumental in bringing foreign goods into the country than in discouraging importations from here, but some inkling is afforded of the progress being made by certain of the European countries, to rehabilitate their commerce and trade position by intensive manufacturing and shipments. For instance, last month the British Board of Trade reported that Great Britain's total domestic exports to all countries increased £40,000,000, in round figures, against an increase of only £4,500,000 in imports. Above all, the movement is spelling the inevitable decline in our own commodity prices.

It was remarked just now that, given freedom of play, the foreign exchanges would readily adjust themselves to the forces of supply and demand. It was also said that with the handing over of the exchange markets to private activities the European governments removed the restrictive barriers they had erected during the war. The latter was not altogether correct. They retained one very important restriction, namely, the embargo on gold exports. The inconvertibility of credits or foreign

OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE

EXPORTS—SEVEN MONTHS

	1920	1919	1918
Jan....	\$722,063,790	\$622,036,726	\$504,797,306
Feb....	645,145,225	585,097,012	411,361,970
March..	819,556,037	603,141,648	522,900,238
April..	684,319,392	714,800,137	500,442,906
May...	745,868,402	603,967,025	550,924,791
June...	631,082,648	928,379,203	483,799,399
July...	652,000,000	568,687,515	507,467,769
Total	\$4,900,035,494	\$4,626,109,266	\$3,481,734,378

IMPORTS—SEVEN MONTHS

	1920	1919	1918
Jan....	\$473,823,869	\$212,992,644	\$212,992,644
Feb....	467,402,320	235,124,274	235,124,274
March..	523,923,236	267,596,289	267,596,289
April..	495,738,571	272,956,289	272,956,289
May...	431,004,944	328,925,593	322,852,593
June...	552,875,088	292,915,543	260,350,071
July...	537,000,000	343,746,070	241,877,758

Total	\$3,481,768,028	\$1,954,256,702	\$1,813,749,918
Exp. Balance.	\$1,418,267,466	\$2,671,852,564	\$1,667,984,461

EXPORTS—TWELVE MONTHS

	1919	1918	1917
Jan....	\$622,552,783	\$504,797,306	\$613,324,582
Feb....	585,097,012	411,361,970	467,648,406
March..	603,141,648	522,900,238	553,985,699
April..	714,800,137	500,442,906	529,927,815
May...	603,967,025	550,924,791	549,673,545
June...	928,379,203	483,799,399	573,467,789
July...	568,687,515	507,467,769	372,758,414
Aug...	646,054,425	527,013,916	488,655,597
Sept...	595,214,266	550,395,994	454,506,904
Oct....	631,619,416	501,860,550	542,101,146
Nov...	740,921,163	522,236,594	487,327,694
Dec....	681,412,962	565,886,112	600,135,006

Total	\$7,921,817,555	\$6,149,087,645	\$6,233,512,597
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IMPORTS—TWELVE MONTHS

	1919	1918	1917
Jan....	\$212,992,644	\$233,942,081	\$241,793,282
Feb....	235,124,274	207,715,540	199,479,996
March..	267,596,289	242,162,017	270,257,139
April..	272,956,949	278,981,327	253,935,966
May...	328,925,593	322,852,898	280,727,164
June...	292,915,543	260,350,071	306,622,939
July...	343,746,070	241,877,758	225,926,352
Aug...	307,293,078	273,002,914	267,854,767
Sept...	435,448,757	261,668,644	236,854,767
Oct....	401,845,150	246,764,906	221,227,405
Nov...	424,851,667	251,008,037	220,534,556
Dec....	380,710,325	215,886,517	227,911,497

Total	\$3,904,406,329	\$3,031,212,710	\$2,952,467,955
Exp. Balance.	\$4,017,441,226	\$3,117,874,835	\$3,281,044,642

drafts into gold has been a contributing influence in causing the exchanges to fall as low as they have. In normal times, when gold could move freely in or out of a country the rate of exchange on that country was confined within a narrow margin, above or below the gold parity, the difference on either side measuring the cost, etc., of shipping the gold.

But that it was out of the question for the European central banks to place their gold coffers at the disposal of the exchange market so long as the international balance of trade remained so heavily against the debtor nations will be at once apparent. Freedom of gold movements would no doubt have acted as a check to the demoralization of exchange, for a time, but England and France, to say nothing of the other countries, would soon have been drained of their precious, and all too small, gold reserves.

Some modification of this gold embargo measure has been made in the case of England which allows gold coming from the mines and bought in the open market in London to be exported. But this, after all, is a comparatively small amount and is subject to a big premium on the yellow metal in adjustment of the outside exchanges. Only about \$40,000,000 of gold has been so acquired this year by New York bankers; a drop in the bucket compared with the current indebtedness.

Of course, the prevailing depreciation in the foreign exchanges is not without its advantage to some classes of the community. It is a boon to tourists and those having funds to remit abroad. It is a benefit to the importers; but a menace to the exporter and, that being the case, the country cannot but suffer in the long run from such a disjointed situation.

It is all very well for us to sit back and point with satisfaction to the premium on the dollar and pride ourselves on the fact that we are now the great creditor nation of the world, to the tune of some \$10,000,000,000 or more, that we are the storehouse of the world and that Europe must come to us for raw material and foodstuffs. There is a very potent danger in thus beguiling ourselves into a sense of independence. We are living in a fool's paradise and some day we will wake up to the fact that Europe has not been lying down. Already we have seen that her exporters

are making the most of favorable exchanges and our abnormally high markets. While the best of our ships are "sinking into junk" at our docks, England's ships are plying the seven seas in an intensive effort to regain her maritime supremacy, seriously threatened during the war.

The unwelcomeness of the prophet is proverbial. To say that our gold supplies will one day be available to Europe seems, just now, an extravagant remark and in the face of current trade figures will evoke a smile from the incredulous. But if the outside world continues to increase its exports of merchandise to us at the rate witnessed during the past few months, it will not be long before we are in the seemingly anomalous position of a creditor nation with adverse exchanges. That this situation is by no means extraordinary has been shown before the war in the case of England, who, in spite of her creditor position, was frequently a heavy exporter of gold.

Incidentally, the results of this "dumping" process on the part of Europe will be a fine legacy for the next administration at Washington to deal with.



INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

KING DOLLAR: "The Frenchman thinks he is squeezing the German, the Englishman the Frenchman, and the American the Englishman. Silly fools! They are all carrying me."

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)

SOME NOTABLE COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

BY CHARLES F. THWING, LL. D., LITT. D.

(President of Western Reserve University)

MY manuscript collection of academic history contains a list of all the college presidents of most American institutions, together with a statement of the length of their term of service. The list shows that the average term is brief, not exceeding five years. An examination of the list calls out reflections at once sad and glad. For, with certain marked exceptions, a brief college presidency is an ineffective presidency. For brevity intimates no, or poor, planning, lack of coöperation, and uncertain support. A college presidency is to be interpreted rather in terms biological than chemical or physical. Biological processes demand time. If time be not given to a college presidency, growth becomes uncertain, maturity doubtful, and fruitage impossible.

Recent years, however, in academic history, are peculiarly rich in college presidencies of long duration as well as of great renown and of rich achievements. Not a few of them, be it said, have been ended by death. Among such careers are the names of Van Hise of Wisconsin, a scientist, who brought the enthusiasm of the scholar to administrative service; Hyde of Bowdoin, a philosopher in education as well as in metaphysics, who was an inspirer of youth; Graham of North Carolina, a Lycidas, whose early passing was a grave loss to his university and State, a loss in which the nation shared; MacLaurin of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a gift of the newest England—of New Zealand—to the New England of America, suddenly stricken, his death a catastrophe to technical and other education.

Retiring from Active Service

But resignations by reason of ill health, or the coming of the age of sixty-five, or its nearer years (a time limit intimated by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching), or other good causes, have been not infrequent within the last years or months. Wheeler of California, a rich per-

sonality, in a succession which includes the name of Gilman of Johns Hopkins; Foster of Reed College, Oregon—a man of vision, not only high, but broad, of distinct literary power and promise; James of Illinois, lifting the great university unto a special place of might and leadership; Hutchins of Michigan, a worthy successor of Angell and a worthy predecessor of Burton, just retiring from Minnesota; Strong of Kansas, closing a long administration with honor to his State as well as to himself; Drinker of Lehigh, who brought to his administration the learning of the lawyer and the skill of the scientist as well as distinct aptness for large human service—these are the names which easily spring from heart and mind to the printed page.

Although this article concerns the past, rather than future, yet it is not unfitting to include a word regarding the announced retirement of the President of Yale College, Arthur Twining Hadley. Some months ago President Hadley informed the Yale community that at the conclusion of the forthcoming academic year, he would lay down his office. In the nineteenth century Yale College had several great presidents, among them the elder Dwight and Day in the early and middle portion, and Woolsey and the younger Dwight in the later years. Hadley's term of twenty-two years concluded one century and has well begun another. To great keenness of intellect there is united a warm heart and active will. He will retire at an age when he is quite remote from being an old man, in ample strength to take up the important public duties which undoubtedly await him.

Yet, in addition, are found at least four college presidents whose concluding official duty was fulfilled at the commencement, last June. Their careers in their length of service, or richness of achievement, or uniqueness in method and contribution, are notably outstanding. They are Schurman of Cor-

nell, Smith of the University of Pennsylvania, Hall of Clark, and Dabney of Cincinnati.

Schurman of Cornell

Schurman came into the Cornell presidency from a professorship of philosophy, as he came into this professorship from teaching the allied subject of psychology, and also of political economy and English literature.



JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN
(President of Cornell University, 1892-1920)

Such teaching, too, following a long and diverse studentship in London, Paris, Edinburgh, in Germany, and in Italy. It was a notable educational training which Jacob Gould Schurman brought to the great presidency, an office made illustrious by the name and service of Andrew D. White. A chief function of the teacher is to interpret. Interpretation is founded upon lucidity of thinking and statement, an

understanding of the mind of the auditor or student, a sense of orderliness in arrangement, and sympathy, both intellectual and emotional, with the mind and heart of those addressed. With these great elements Schurman is endowed. It would be hard, be it added, to find a college president who represents so well the highest standards of public speech—such standards, for instance, as are set up in the House of Commons. In public life, Schurman has already had no inconsiderable share. It is to be hoped that a further participation in this life diplomatic and civil may be opened to him.

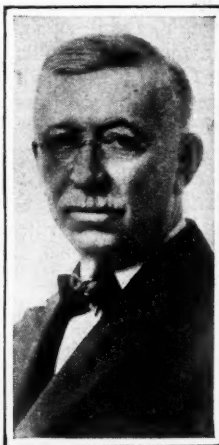
Smith of Pennsylvania

Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, is among the most loved of all presidents of his generation. A professor of chemistry for thirty years—twenty-three of which preceded his executive service in the university—he brought to his too brief term the qualities of a great scholar and of a great teacher. The provostship of the University of Pennsylvania is among the more difficult of executive positions of American institutions. The

university has enjoyed the advantage, or possibly the disadvantage, of receiving, annually or biennially, grants from the State. It is situated in the midst of a historic and great city. It has a long and notable history. Its students have been, and are, numbered by thousands. Its graduates are found in and are known to all the world. But it has ever lacked an endowment equivalent to its opportunity and its apparent duties. The reasons of this lack, the present is not the occasion to discuss; those reasons may be ample and sufficient. Such a condition, however, of widest opportunities and of narrow means, presents to a true and faithful executive like Provost Smith, hard, repressive, and depressing difficulties. Provost Pepper, that valiant administrator, once said to me that the University of Pennsylvania went to sleep soon after its birth in the middle of the eighteenth century, and that it had slept until he had come into office. We all know that it did then awake. It has continued in the workaday condition which Pepper helped to create. May it long continue unto ever-increasing alertness and power. For no other university in all the world has a richer opportunity or a greater commandingness than that offered by the University of Pennsylvania in the city of Philadelphia.

Hall of Clark University

If Smith is a scientist among the presidents, Stanley Hall, of Clark University, was a psychologist among the executives when he himself became one, and a psychologist he has ever remained. For his re-



EDGAR F. SMITH
(Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 1911-1920)

searches, his writing, his editorship, and his speaking have commanded him more fully than administrative duty. Such duty, of course, is slight in a small graduate school as compared to a like duty in a university like Cornell or Pennsylvania. But Doctor Hall has at once helped to prove and to disprove the remark once made to me by Patton, formerly president of Princeton. President Patton said:

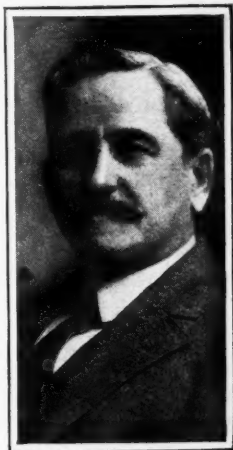
"College presidents think they can carry a pail of water on each shoulder, the pail of administration and the pail of scholarship. They soon discover that the process is impossible." But Hall has maintained, with dignity and public respect, the function of a university president and he also has served as a distinguished research scholar, as a teacher, and as an expositor. It is doubtful if American academic annals will furnish in future years a similar example of duplex and, usually, contradictory services.

Dabney of Cincinnati's University

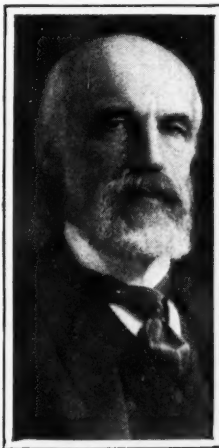
A great college president said to Dabney, when he was resigning from the presidency of the University of Tennessee to accept a like office in the University of Cincinnati, that he would deeply regret the change. "For," said his adviser, "the city will not stand by you." The prophecy has proved to be false. For for no less a period than sixteen years he has been president of the University of Cincinnati. In this period he has helped to make the university one of the most outstanding of all formally organized municipal institutions, and to the university, be it added, the city has, in many and in formal ways, devoted its money and given its good will. Under Dabney's guidance, and with the most wise and active support of Dean Schneider, of the scientific department, has been established a system of technical co-operative education of unique worth. The system represents the theoretical learning of the School in Engineering, and also the practical work done in shop and factory. The system, thus conducted, has given better results than one could anticipate. There are intimations of the growth of this method in other outstanding institutions and of its applications to other fields than the scientific. The university also has come to represent an ef-

fective combination of its Medical School with the Municipal Hospital, a combination offering rich opportunities for clinical teaching under admirable conditions. Dabney comes of a family given to public affairs (his father was Stonewall Jackson's chief of staff in the war between the States), and to public affairs he has himself been devoted. That opportunities for further great service will become his seems abundantly assured.

This paper began with a reference to the brevity of the term of the typical college president. But this quartette of administrators have served the American college and community for more than one hundred years, an average of over twenty-five years each. If to the term of executive service should be added the term of their professorships, the aggregate of the length of the university association foots up to no less a sum than one hundred and seventy-five years. Such a contribution, too, is no less rich in content than it is noteworthy in duration. It is a contribution made, through research, writing, teaching and through administrative work, for the betterment of the American and the world community. The position of the college teacher and of the college executive is often made the object of criticism. Its pecuniary compensations are held up to ridicule and, in many instances, these compensations are ridiculously meagre. Its limitations are constantly emphasized. Its remoteness from certain large human movements is frequently noted. But Schurman, Smith, Hall, and Dabney help to bring out a truer proportion and more just perspective of the worths of the academic career. Have not these college presidents done more through their careers toward enhancing life's lasting values than they could have achieved in any other field of endeavor? For the ablest men the American college and university open highest and widest doors of richest service for humanity.



CHARLES W. DABNEY
(President of the University
of Cincinnati, 1904-1920)



G. STANLEY HALL
(President of Clark Uni-
versity, Worcester, Mass.,
1888-1920)

THE "SHOP COMMITTEE" CURE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNREST

HOW THE GOLDEN RULE WORKS IN A WASHINGTON LUMBER MILL

BY E. H. CHRISTY THOMAS

THE I. W. W. Hymn of Hate! It whispered evilly over the immense fields of ripening wheat—hummed among the glowing apples of Washington's famous orchards—murmured sibilantly through the mighty firs and cedars of that State's dark forests. The great Pacific Northwest stirred uneasily in her sleep, unconsciously sensing the approaching menace.

Came threats in the bunk-house; and the next day a disabled thresher on the harvest field. Lounging figures along a quiet country road at dusk, with dark objects furtively thrown far into the yellow grain, and the hot sun of morning kindled a dozen different phosphorus fires to bring despair to the harassed farmer. Stealthy shapes gliding through an orchard on a moonless night; and a fruit tree sickened and died, a copper nail piercing its heart. Insinuation and suggestion in the logging camp; and a whirring saw in some busy mill shattered as it struck

the hidden spike, maiming and injuring the workers all about it.

In a word, sabotage! Perhaps you remember: The trouble centered in the Washington timber districts, with the mills a pivotal point. The struggle was between the lumber interests and unions dominated by I. W. W. agitators.

Industrial Harmony, and Increased Production

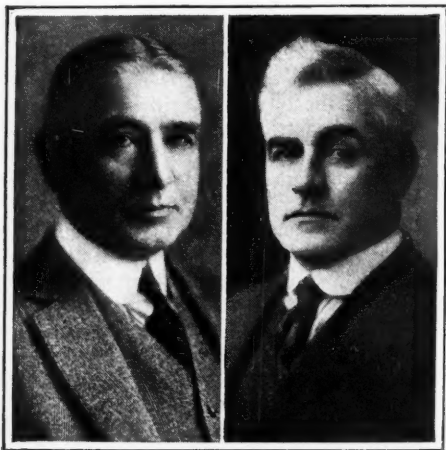
But that was twenty months ago; to-day the visitor to that region learns of a new condition. One hears no more the dread hymnal of destruction. The voice of the I. W. W. has been hushed, perhaps stilled—who knows? The men who work in the mills and forests are contented; they may not sing and whistle at their toil, but they are cheerful on the whole, and it's getting to be an event when a man quits. Loafing is unpopular.

Production at last is on the increase!

Thus the old order changeth. Take the Bloedel Donovan Lumber Mills at Bellingham and Seattle, Washington, the largest manufacturers of forest products on the Pacific Coast. A year ago the employees there, once under I. W. W. influence, unani- mously adopted the following resolution:

By subscribing hereto, we unqualifiedly declare ourselves to be 100 per cent. American, and pledge ourselves to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State and nation; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth and to combat and denounce the alien agitator, slacker and I. W. W.; and we announce ourselves toward these ends to be one for all, all for one, and all for America.

These mills seem to have dealt with their labor troubles successfully. Now and then they are breaking all former records for production. A year ago they were closed down



J. H. BLOEDEL

C. L. FLYNN

(The president and the superintendent of the Bloedel Donovan Lumber Mills, in Washington, where the workmen—through shop committees—have an important part in carrying on the work of a vast industrial establishment)



ONE OF THE SHOP COMMITTEES IN THE BLOEDEL DONOVAN LUMBER MILLS OF WASHINGTON

by a strike caused by the radical element in the Timber Workers' Union, a labor organization claiming at the time about 60 per cent. of the mill workers. That was a little more than a year ago. Since then the company has applied to its business the spirit and substance of the "square deal," manifesting its policies through a Shop Committee plan, a novelty in industry on the Coast.

Testimony of the Workers

Perhaps it is not so much the shop-committee system, however, as a recognition of the men's right to a voice in their industrial relations with the management that has brought about the change. I questioned one of the workers on this point. He said: "Before you get through you want to talk to J. H. Bloedel, president of the company. He considers his men human and square and treats them as such—not because he has to, but because he wants to. That's why the shop-committee plan has won out here."

Another chap of about fifty who, it developed, in his younger days had been a school teacher, summed it up like this: "The shop-committee plan is the instrument through which the management is giving the men a square deal. While the open shop

permits the company to deal with its own men and makes possible the shop committee plan, it is the square deal which gives both life and purpose."

I spent several wonderful days among the workers at Bellingham and neighboring mills operated by the Bloedel Donovan Lumber Company. Aware of the average shingle weaver's reputation as a radical, I was anxious to find out for myself how and why he had changed. I wanted the men's viewpoint, their attitude toward the shop committee plan—to learn, in a word, what it was that in so short a space had made them satisfied and efficient.

A story typifying the spirit actuating the management was related to me by a curious little man of perhaps 55. He is one of the company's electricians. I first encountered him at the noon hour. He was riding a bicycle and whistling as if he hadn't a care in the world. Later we had a talk.

"What do you think of the shop committee plan?" I asked him.

"Well, it beats the labor union," he said.

Then he told me he had been a member of a labor organization for thirty-five years. "The men get more out of this plan than they ever did from the union local"—though

he wanted it understood that he had nothing against organized labor. "The shop committee system offers the workers more, that's all," he added. "We have a chance to talk things over with the management, can settle our differences peaceably, and our jobs are more permanent."

The men themselves are responding to this policy in a way that will warm the hearts of those who believe the average working man will act squarely when he is well treated.

To judge from my trips through the mills, the advantages of the shop committee plan which appeal to the workers the most are:

1. It makes their jobs more secure.
2. It enables them to have a voice in matters which concern them.
3. Once a month they can meet and talk over their work with the officials of the company, on a fair and equal basis.
4. What they say and do in these meetings will not be held against them.
5. Their employers recognize them as human beings, not parts of a machine.

A Growing Body of Home-Builders

One of the most important and beneficial effects of the shop-committee plan as it is being operated at Bellingham is the company's home-building program. It is so considered by the men. Under ordinary employment conditions lumber-mill workers, their jobs insecure, make frequent moves. Sometimes these are by request, at others because of trouble over wages or working conditions.

Under the shop-committee system the men feel the continuity of their employment depends only upon the merit of their work. As a result they consider their jobs comparatively safe. For that reason many of them, for the first time in their lives, are building their own homes, and, as taxpayers, are assuming their full responsibility to the community as citizens. The men, the company, and the city are benefiting from the plan—the management getting results through having a steady crew of men, familiar with the work.

The company offers aid in this home-building program, in several different and highly effective ways. One of these is an arrangement by which it acts as a trustee for its employees in the organization of a Thrift Club, which pays the men 6 per cent. on their savings as against 4 per cent. given by the ordinary financial institution. It also sells lumber to employees at a liberal reduction from the wholesale price at the mills,

and permits the men to pay for it on the installment plan.

"It is not so many years ago," President Bloedel said later in Seattle, "that my employees consisted of only a handful of men. I knew them all well. Most of them I called by their first names, and they called me 'J. H.' I learned then that the workingman is square and fair, and just as honest and human as anyone else. To-day I have every confidence in the employees of this company. I believe and have faith in them. Furthermore, it is my conviction that more than 90 per cent. of the workmen in this country are right. When employers meet the men half way, with truth and the square deal, most of our labor troubles in this country will be over."

How the New Era Began

But let us start at the beginning; for the transition from the old to the new conditions at the Bloedel Donovan mills was not sudden. When the I. W. W. made their influence felt in the Washington lumber country, they attacked this plant first because of its size and influence. Following their usual custom the radicals "bored from within."

The I. W. W., of course, were very active in the plants, and the better class of workmen, having at that time no means of expressing themselves, took the course of least resistance and tacitly permitted the radical element in the Timber Workers' Union to become their spokesmen. It was that element in the union which brought about the strike in Bellingham. But the I. W. W. now have been eliminated from the mills. Released from this influence, and given a voice in their industrial relations with the company, the good men have shown their real worth and repudiated outside leadership.

When the mills resumed operations after the strike, President Bloedel went before the men and made a little speech. One can hear snatches of that talk in the mills yet. He spoke of the days when he personally knew each man, and of gradually losing touch through growth.

"I don't think we should have had this strike," he said, "if we had been able to get together and talk things over among ourselves." He asked them to pick a committee of ten, or any other number they preferred, to represent them—a committee with whom the management could meet, talk things over, and do business.

The shop-committee plan in these mills was started in just that way. In its early beginnings the plan was crude, but it has been developed, piece by piece. It now represents something like real industrial democracy in the lumber industry. While President Bloedel conceived the plan, it has been the foremen and the employees who have improved and applied it.

Shop Committees and What They Do

Under this plan, the mills with their different crafts have been divided into zones. There is a committeeman, elected by the Australian secret ballot, for every forty men in each zone. The men thus chosen constitute the shop committee in each mill or plant. Their officers consist of a chairman and secretary. The committeemen are elected to serve one year, half of them going out of office every six months. They meet once a week in special quarters furnished them at the plant. Once a month the shop committees meet with three executive representatives of the management, in what is known as a council meeting. The men are paid half time for attendance at meetings.

The shop committees consider wages, hours, working conditions, and numerous other matters that figure in their industrial relations with the management. Among these are sanitation, safety rules, attendance, pay days, offenses, coffee houses, individual wage adjustments, and recreation.

Under this shop-committee plan, when an employee has a grievance he first takes it up with the foreman of his department. The foremen in these mills, to stress an important point, are under strict orders promulgated by the management, carefully and judiciously to consider all matters brought to their attention by the men and their committee representatives.

If the employee and his foremen have not settled the trouble in question to their mutual satisfaction the former may bring his grievance to the shop committeeman. The two call on the foreman. If the trouble is not ironed out at this meeting (and nine out of ten grievances are), it becomes the duty of the committeeman to report the circumstances in full to his shop committee chairman at the next regular meeting, or if the matter is of such urgency as to warrant it, a special meeting of the shop committee may be called. If the grievance remains after consideration by the shop committee, it is taken to the monthly meeting of the joint council.

The joint council considers and decides all matters referred to it by the management or by the shop committees. Its decisions become the policy of the management and are incorporated in the Standard Practice Rules for guidance of the executives and the shop committees in the administration of industrial relations in the plants. The plan further provides that when the joint council cannot agree, an appeal may be taken to the president of the company. If this fails, the matter is settled by mutually chosen arbitrators outside the mill. Before the monthly joint council meetings, the shop committees come together in caucus to discuss all questions to be referred to the joint council.

The Man No Longer a Machine

Another feature is that the company invites and encourages constructive suggestions or criticisms by the men, looking toward betterment of methods, rules, or practices for the benefit of the company or its employees or for the improvement of harmony in their relations with each other. An important condition making for the success of the plan is that the man in the ranks who develops ability, in some other line than that in which he is working, is accorded opportunity for advancement.

Membership in a labor union, the tenets of which are in accordance with the laws of the United States, is no bar to employment in these mills. Union and non-union men work side by side in harmony. Union affiliation is given no consideration for or against the employment or record of an employee.

No man at the mills is a more enthusiastic champion of the virtues of the shop committee plan than Superintendent Flynn, who has been with this company seventeen years.

"The only way to make a success of the shop-committee system," Flynn said one day during my visit at the mills, "is to play the game straight with the men. No lies, no bunk will get by. Unless the employer first has the will to treat his men as he would like to be treated if their positions were reversed, this plan will fail; for your working man is human and to-day will insist upon his rights.

"I have been asked many times during the last year whether under the shop-committee plan the men do not seek to interfere in the administration and management of the mills. They do not. They concern themselves only with their industrial relations with the company. For the rest—such as prices, marketing methods, etc.—they show no interest."

HYGIENE OF THE SCHOOL

BY FRANCIS ARNOLD COLLINS

A NATION-WIDE movement is in progress to improve the hygiene of schoolhouses in America and render them efficient health agencies. The buildings which to-day house some twenty million school children throughout the country are frequently a public menace. Of this great army, 75 per cent., or about fifteen million children, have more or less serious physical defects, in part the result of their school environment, which are at least potentially detrimental to health.

Disadvantages of Country School Children

The "little red schoolhouse" has long enjoyed a reputation wholly undeserved. Judged by modern standards of hygiene it is probably the most insanitary type of building in the country and is less well suited to its purpose than are barns or stables to theirs. Most of the alumni of the 250,000 rural schools in America will readily recall their stifling rooms, the open stoves, the single tin dipper used in common and the primitive sanitary arrangements. Under such conditions epidemics of colds, measles, mumps and more serious disorders almost invariably followed the appearance of a single case of one or other of these maladies.

Recent surveys reveal the fact that the country children of America are less healthy than city children. The general vitality is lower and the death rate is higher in the remote country districts than in the crowded tenement areas of New York City, where school conditions, to say the least, leave much to be desired. It has been found that 20 per cent., or five million school children, suffer from eye troubles and that 5 per cent., or one million, have lung trouble which more or less seriously threaten tuberculosis, rendering them a danger to others.

In a recent report gathered from thousands of teachers throughout the country 66 per cent. reported insanitary conditions in their schools, 46 per cent. reported defective ventilation, 41 per cent. insufficient toilet facilities, and 28 per cent. reported that the drinking water was not dispensed in a sanitary way.

Measuring School-Room Light

The scope of the present movement to better health conditions will come as a surprise to most laymen. The conditions of schoolhouses have been made the subject of searching scientific examinations, or educational surveys, as they are termed, which are comparable to a diagnosis made by physicians or surgeons called in for consultation in critical cases. The tests are conducted with the accuracy of laboratory experiments. Nothing is left to chance. The care with which these surveys are conducted is well illustrated by the methods employed in measuring the light and ventilation of school-rooms. The instruments shown in the accompanying illustrations are employed by Teachers College, New York, in surveys made throughout the United States. This institution readily leads the country in the work of improving school conditions and standardizing health requirements. The influence of such surveys extends to every section of the country, since Teachers College supplies one in seven of all the trained teachers of the country and a large proportion of the heads of high schools and colleges.

The amount of light on any school desk and the degree of reflection is measured in a few seconds by an ingenious instrument known as "the illuminator" or "photometer." The unit of measure in these tests is a foot-candle or the light of a standardized candle, at a distance of one foot. The lighting of every desk in the school-room should be equal to nine foot-candles. If the light goes too much above this, there is a glare which is exaggerated by the polished desks and blackboards, which strains or seriously injures the eye. If the light is not properly distributed, as is generally the case, there are cross lights and deep shadows in the corners of the room.

It is practically impossible to get good light distribution except with shades which rise from the bottom and from the middle of the window. The surveys show that many desks receive only one foot candle of light—in other words, many children are obliged to work with a light equal to that of a single candle a foot away from the desk. In

measuring the light, a white disc is laid on the desk and observed through a telescopic device, electrically connected with a delicate measuring instrument. The tube which is held above the desk contains a small disc lighted by one foot candle, which is thus compared to the light reflected from the disc on the desk. The sliding barrel is adjusted until the two discs are equal, when the relation between them is automatically indicated upon the dial.

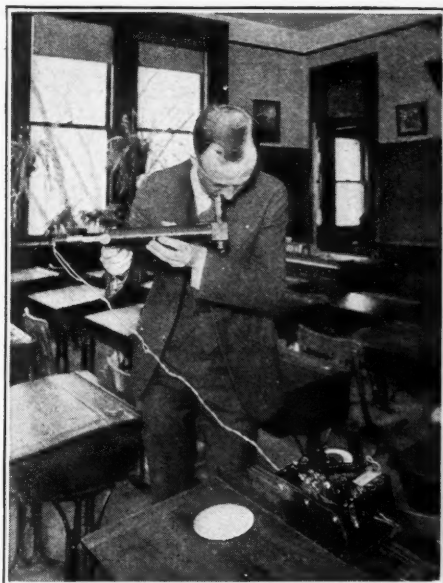
To assure abundance of light in the school-room even on the darkest days, the area of glass in the window should be from one-fifth to one-fourth the room's floor space. The best plan, it is found, is to have the light come only from the left side and from the longer dimension of the room. In designing school-rooms, windows may be placed at the rear as well as on the left side, but the sills of the rear windows should be at least seven feet above the floor. Windows may be introduced on the right side of the room at the same height to afford cross ventilation, but they should be heavily shaded and not used for lighting.

All windows should be protected by separate shades both at the top and bottom, the upper shades being translucent in order that the light on sunny days may be properly tempered.

The best light effects are obtained by facing the schoolhouse so that direct sunlight will enter the class-room usually by having the windows open east or west. The most effective colors as regards light values have been found to be white or light green for the ceilings and light gray or green for the walls. The blackboards should of course be black, but not glossy. No trees or shrubbery should be placed so near the schoolhouse as to interfere with the light or ventilation.

The Air of the Class-Room

To the degree of moisture in the class-room a surprising variety of ills are traceable. Some class-rooms are found to be actually drier at the end of the school season than the Sahara Desert. In the surveys, tests are made with a delicate wet and dry thermometer which consists of a double tube. A wet cloth is wrapped around the mercury of one and the instrument is swung rapidly to increase the evaporation. The range in degree of moisture in the school-rooms under observation varies from 10° to over 60° . In the best school-rooms the dryness is over-



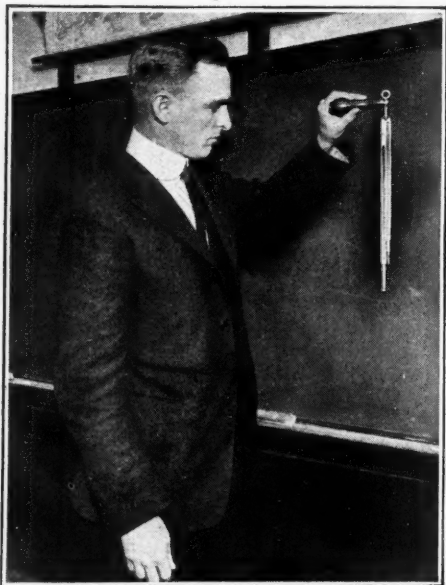
PHOTOMETER FOR DETERMINING THE DEGREE OF LIGHT ON PUPILS' DESKS¹

come by adding moisture to the air by introducing water through steam vapor, or by introducing water just in front of the fan that forces fresh air into the class-room. The school may require from three to four barrels of water a day, introduced in this manner. A crude attempt is sometimes made to moisten the air by placing a pan of water on the school stove, which is about as effective as attempting to put out a fire with a tin cup.

The stove in rural school-rooms, which is usually unjacketed, frequently heats the center of a tightly sealed room to a temperature in the eighties, while the corners are 30° cooler. The overheated air is of course breathed over and over again throughout the greater part of the day. According to the minimum standards of sanitation the temperature of the school-room in cold weather should be kept between 60° and 68° . Ventilation should be supplied through open windows in mild weather and in cold weather through window boards or special inlets and exits. The position of the intake is often such as to endanger the health of the pupils. Several cases have been found where the intake opened on the yards of livery stables.

The amount of air entering a school-room is measured by means of a delicately balanced fan adjusted to a dial. The measurement is

¹ Photographs by permission of Teachers' College.



WET OR DRY BULB THERMOMETER (SLING PSYCHROMETER) WHICH INDICATES THE DEGREE OF MOISTURE

made by calculating the speed of the fan in connection with the size of the intake through which the air is admitted.

Sanitary Equipment

The furniture of the school-room, the books and other materials for instruction are often far from being sanitary. The new requirements insist, besides, on these articles being sufficiently attractive to arouse response from the pupils. School desks and seats should be separate and adjusted to the size and needs of growing children at least twice a year. A separate seat and desk which is readily adjustable should be supplied for each pupil. The investigations of thousands of schools, especially in the rural districts, show that the class-rooms are frequently very defective in these respects.

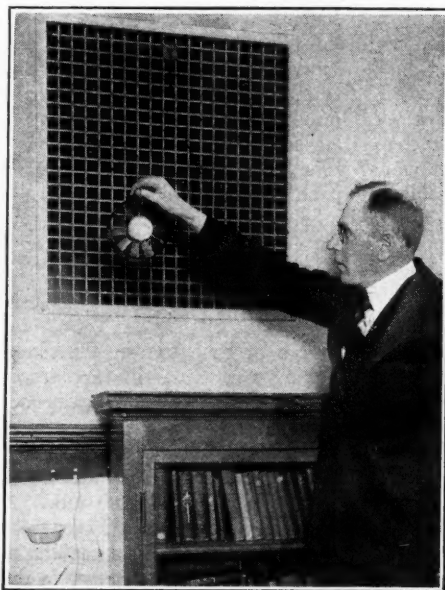
One of the minimum health requirements of modern schools is that they have sanitary drinking fountains conveniently placed. A sanitary fountain is assured by having running water. The position of the school-house, both city and country, is usually bad. The sanitary requirements demand that it be located in as healthful a place as can be found in the vicinity. Noise and other objectionable factors should be eliminated. The ground should be well drained, and whenever possible the school should have

trees and shrubbery and be surrounded by a garden or experimental farm. Rocky and clay soil should be avoided.

The investigations showed that the average country school with unlimited ground to utilize has usually less playground space than the city school. The playground properly equipped is now recognized as a necessity and not a luxury.

Frequent Health Examinations

To maintain a high standard of health in the schools each child should have a rigid health examination at least once a year. In the case of children who need special attention, the observation should be more frequent. The best results are obtained by having all such examinations supervised by regularly appointed school physicians. Each State should have a State Health Inspector of Schools. The teachers may conduct the routine tests of vision and hearing, when their personal knowledge of pupils will prove valuable. The methods of examination have been standardized and simplified. The same health examinations can be conducted by the school nurses and their assistants. A health as well as a scholarship record is kept of every child throughout his school career, which becomes a part of his school record.



ANEMOMETER FOR MEASURING AMOUNT OF AIR ENTERING A ROOM

STORIES OF ROOSEVELT

THE recurrence of Theodore Roosevelt's birthday anniversary (October 27th) reminds us of the widespread and deeply significant observance of "Roosevelt Week" in October, 1919, as described by Mr. Hermann Hagedorn in this REVIEW at the time. The date has become familiar to thousands of school children throughout the country, and it will not be permitted to pass without due recognition.

Anecdotes about Roosevelt are abundant and comparatively few of them have ever found a place in the pages of this magazine. It has seemed fitting, however, apropos of the approaching anniversary occasion, to reproduce at this time a few characteristic utterances of the leader who appealed so powerfully, by word and deed, to the finer instincts of his generation. For such material we naturally turn to one of the most popular among the Roosevelt biographies that have appeared since his death—the one written by his long-time associate and close personal friend, Dr. Ferdinand C. Iglehart.¹

It was while Mr. Roosevelt was Police Commissioner of New York City that Dr. Iglehart's acquaintance with him began. During the summer of 1895 New York was greatly excited over Commissioner Roosevelt's rigid enforcement of the laws restricting Sunday liquor-selling. In his expressions at that time on the subject of law enforcement public officials of the present day might read a useful lesson. Under date of July 2, 1895, he wrote to Dr. Iglehart:

"As I told you, it is with me simply a question of observing my oath of office. Nothing that either the saloonkeepers or the politicians say will alter in any degree my position."

Many years later, after he had become President, he was walking one Sunday with Dr. Iglehart from the Washington church that he had attended to the White House. The subject of law enforcement in its broader aspects was again under discussion. He said to Dr. Iglehart:

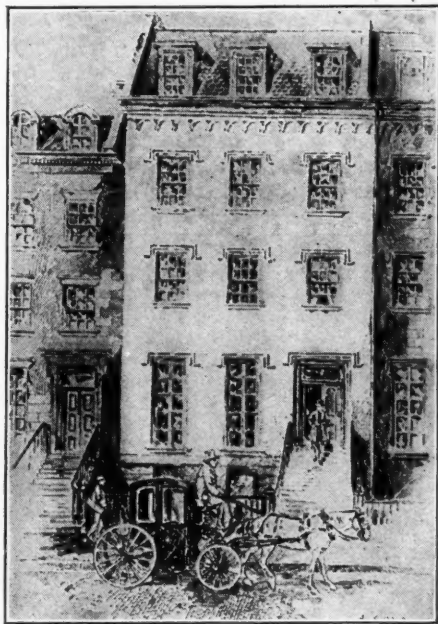
"I am engaged in one of the greatest moral conflicts of the age—that of colossal lawless cor-

porations against the Government. I am not fighting rich men. Was I not raised among the rich? Did I not inherit money? I know what a blessing wealth is, honestly secured and wisely dispensed. I am fighting the institutions that have grown enormously rich by fraud; that have ground the faces of the poor and have for years shown such sullen contempt for the laws governing them.

My chief desire now is that God will let me live long enough to demonstrate the fact that the rich and powerful must obey the law as well as the poor and feeble—not any better nor any worse, but *just the same*."

Another side of Roosevelt's character is illustrated by an incident witnessed by Dr. Albert Shaw, while a guest at the White House:

"I once saw him come down the main stairway to greet a distinguished Archbishop who was to be a luncheon guest. A small dog had arrived that morning from Oyster Bay and had not yet seen the head of the family. The joy of the little animal was so overwhelming as his master



THE HOUSE ON TWENTIETH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, IN WHICH THEODORE ROOSEVELT WAS BORN

(The Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association is raising a fund of \$1,000,000 for the purchase and restoration of the Roosevelt birthplace, for many years devoted to business purposes)

¹Theodore Roosevelt: The Man As I Knew Him. By Ferdinand C. Iglehart. Christian Herald Publishing Company. A. L. Burt Co. 400 pp. Ill.

came down the stairs that, forgetting everything, the President was on the floor with the dog while the Archbishop stood at attention eight or ten feet away. But Mr. Roosevelt was himself again as President in fifteen seconds, and the Archbishop enjoyed and perfectly understood the boyishness of the nation's head."

Among the most interesting passages in Dr. Iglehart's book are those relating to the home life of the Roosevelts at Oyster Bay. In closing an account of one of the famous Christmas-tree celebrations at the "Little Cove School" Dr. Iglehart says:

After the exercises Mr. Roosevelt took the presents off the tree one by one with his own hands and had the child whose name was called come forward and receive it, and he usually made some delightful or funny remark about the present that was given. For instance, he would use some baseball phrase when he handed a boy a ball and bat, and would have some sweet little words to say when he gave a dolly to a little girl. Little Margaret Martin, aged five years, came forward for her present and Santa Claus took her up with a hand under each shoulder, and holding her up, said "I want everybody in the house to see the sweet little girl who made such a pretty speech to-day." When a boy came up for his present he gave him a flashlight, saying, "This reminds me of my trip to South America, when I had to get up in the night with my flashlight to see if there were any snakes under the bed."

The child of a poor woman living in Oyster Bay was af-

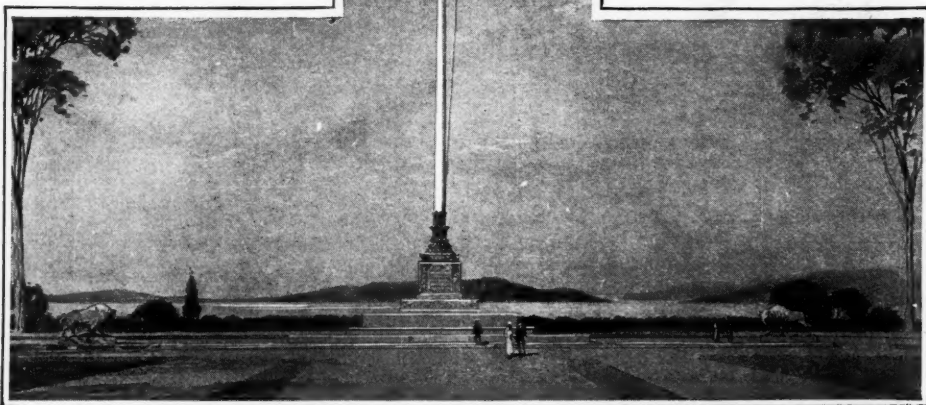
flicted with a deformed foot. As soon as the matter had been brought to his attention, says Dr. Iglehart,

the Colonel immediately sent his daughter Ethel down to the house to see the child and talk the matter over with the mother. Miss Ethel reported the facts to her father, who told her to take the child down to the Roosevelt Hospital in New York, to have the foot operated upon, saying he would pay the bill. She did so, and it so chanced that one of the surgeons attending the child was Dr. Richard Derby, up to that time unknown to Miss Ethel. The rest of the story speaks for itself, in a fortunate marriage and happy family. The boy was cured and went out into life without a handicap.

Dr. Iglehart's book gives documentary evidence of the fact that Colonel Roosevelt favored the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution. In a letter written on the day after Congress had adopted the Amendment by a decisive vote he said:

"MY DEAR MR. IGLEHART: I thank you for your book and appreciate your sending it to me, and I wish to congratulate you on what has happened in Congress and the success that is crowning your long fight against alcoholism.

"The American saloon has been one of the most mischievous elements in American social, political and industrial life. No man has warred more valiantly against it than you have, and I am glad that it has been my privilege to stand with you in the contest."



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PROPOSED ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL AT OYSTER BAY

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

HARDING, TAFT AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

KNOWN as an early and earnest advocate of the League of Nations, former President William Howard Taft represents an important group of Republicans whose attitude towards the views of Senator Harding on America's participation in the League are of great public interest. Mr. Taft has contributed to the *Public Ledger*, of Philadelphia, a frank discussion of Senator Harding's position on this matter. He declares that Mr. Harding's address of August 28th "gives real ground for hope that he will lead the country into the League, amended to meet the chief Republican reservations and further amended to secure an international court to decide justiciable disputes between nations."

As to Senator Harding's criticism of the present League as a failure because it has not met the test of the Russo-Polish war, Mr. Taft finds ground for dissent in the fact that Poland began an offensive war against Russia without submitting any question to the League, and thereby sacrificed her rights to rely on the guarantee of Article X.

This criticism, however, makes it clear to Mr. Taft that Senator Harding's chief attack upon the League is a denunciation of Article X, since that is the only part of the Covenant which imposes any obligation on any members of the League to preserve the territory or independence of other members.

Senator Harding's other criticism of the League is directed against the enforced submission of justiciable disputes between nations to the Council or Assembly for a decision and recommendation of settlement. Mr. Taft freely admits that many of the strongest friends of the League have thought that this feature should be amended. He recalls the fact that the plans of the League to Enforce Peace, of

General Smuts and of the English Commission contained a court to decide justiciable questions. President Wilson, however, objected to an obligatory court. So in the present League there is a provision for a court, but its jurisdiction when organized is made to depend upon the consent of the parties. The Root-Phillimore Commission has presented a plan for the organization of this court. In Mr. Taft's opinion the League organization should be amended in this particular.

While Senator Harding prefers the Hague Tribunal as the proper court, Mr. Taft points out that the Root-Phillimore court is better adapted to the purpose that Mr. Harding has in mind than the Hague Tribunal. Mr. Harding wishes "to put teeth into the court," and this may be done far more easily in the case of the Root-Phillimore plan than in that of The Hague. In other words, Mr. Harding wishes to confer on the court power which the League will uphold to compel nations to submit their justiciable differences to its jurisdiction and to abide by its judgments. Mr. Taft shows that this is precisely the aim of the League court:

The present League of Nations secures submission to the league council or assembly to hear and recommend a settlement of all disputes by a covenant of every nation not to begin war before submission or until three months after a decision, and not then if the decision is complied with. The covenant is enforced by a universal boycott by all the members of the league against any nation breaking its covenant. At the same time any nation interested in enforcement of the decision may then begin war for the purpose against the defaulting nation. We can hardly suppose that Mr. Harding would wish more teeth than this.

Mr. Taft further shows that the Root-Phillimore provision has a great advantage over the Hague Tribunal, in that it fur-

nishes a practical plan for a permanent court of constantly serving judges, which is satisfactory to the smaller nations. The objection of the smaller nations, says Mr. Taft, has heretofore wrecked any plans for such a permanent court. The Hague Tribunal, with its purely voluntary jurisdiction and voluntary selection of judges, contains no solution of the difficulty, in Mr. Taft's opinion.

Mr. Taft proceeds to show that Senator Harding practically insists on a non-judicial conference to decide non-justiciable questions. This is just what the League brings about through the submission of such questions to the Council or the Assembly. Mr. Harding says:

I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference and a world court whose verdict upon justiciable questions this country, in common with all nations, would be both willing and able to uphold. The decisions of such a court or the recommendations of such a conference would be accepted without sacrificing on our part or asking any other power to sacrifice one iota of its nationality.

Assent to this proposition, according to Mr. Taft, means our entrance into the League. Since Mr. Harding has declared that he has no expectation of finding it necessary or desirable to negotiate a separate treaty with Germany, it seems obvious to Mr. Taft that he must look to the Treaty of Versailles for those rights and

privileges, and he can only secure them by becoming a party to the Treaty.

We have a right to infer from what Mr. Harding says, therefore, that he proposes to approach the principal and Allied associate powers—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, now members of the League of Nations—and to ask them to amend the league by striking out or modifying Article X, by otherwise qualifying its provisions to give general effect to the other chief Republican reservations, and by providing an obligatory international court of the Root-Phillimore type to settle justiciable disputes, and to leave other differences between nations to recommendations of settlement by conference or council. Thus he would amend the league to meet the criticisms which he directs against it.

There is full power in the league to make these amendments, and the making of them does not need the consent of Germany, because power to amend without her consent is expressly reserved. If he succeeds in negotiating such changes in the league, then he can submit the treaty, as modified in its league features, to the Senate for its ratification, and when so ratified Germany will be bound to render to us the rights and privileges stipulated in the treaty.

In conclusion, Mr. Taft suggests that if Senator Harding finds this plan impracticable he has still the opportunity to join the League with the Republican reservations and secure the judicial changes by amendment after we enter the League. Mr. Taft thinks we are justified in inferring that Mr. Harding would follow this course by what he says about his previous votes in the Senate.

THE LEAGUE AS A "GOING CONCERN"

IF the unsigned article on this subject in the *Correspondant* (Paris) for August 10 is not from the hand of General Sir Eric Drummond, permanent secretary of the League of Nations, the writer must have been in Sir Eric's full confidence with access to every drawer of his desk. Certain French newspapers, like some of our own, have the habit of announcing from time to time that the League is dead. From the beginning there has been much skepticism as to its effectiveness, and quite as much ignorance of its activities, along with the suspicion that its officials are "liberally paid to keep their arms folded all day." The present article should be decisive testimony as to that.

Like all great and lasting institutions, the League existed long beforehand in the consciousness of the peoples. As long ago the

needs of trade brought together the Lombard cities and the Hanseatic League, so again international commerce and countless other interlinkings had, before 1914, made generally felt the need for a worldwide organization. Roosevelt's speech on the future of the League Tribunal foreshadowed the speedy rise of a centralized world-state with powers far more drastic than were ever once suggested at Paris; including a "police force" sufficient to part, and even to crush, any pair of combative nations. So, if all the formal results of the Versailles Treaty should vanish, the morrow would bring a new attempt to meet the supreme need of mankind.

Conservative men, politicians, diplomats, the bureaucracies that so largely form the permanent government of every state,

would never have approved the creation of the League if Mr. Wilson had not so persistently voiced the long-felt cravings of the peoples and finally forced the covenant into the place of honor within the Treaty of Peace itself. Otherwise its birth would have been delayed—perhaps until the end of another yet more disastrous World War.

The absence of our own country from its councils has been the greatest blow the League has suffered. This loss has profoundly modified, in some directions almost crippled, the activities of the World League. It is struggling not for worldwide control and order, but for its own existence and provisional development, until the American nation shall see aright its own highest and even vital concern.

The stabilizing of commerce, the restoration of normal economic conditions, must come before America can buy and sell abroad—as she must; and Europe, even if considered alone, can be set in order only by a World League. That truth, driven home already by America's languishing export trade, must soon end the "boycott."

Meantime, since there must be some material support, the League is forced to lean all too heavily on the imperfect and precarious unity in action of England and France. Then, too, problems not now soluble at all are laid on the League's shoulders by clever national politicians—to its further discredit through inevitable failure.

So the "Supreme Council" (of two or three prime ministers) has lived too long, the Executive Council has not won its proper prestige, the permanent secretaries must work, in comparative obscurity, under Inter-Allied rather than world control. The defection of the United States, then, while it has not killed the League, has compelled a temporary renunciation of its largest hopes and plans. But much that was essential it has already accomplished. The League has proved itself indispensable. It cannot, indeed, to-day stifle a war that is already breaking out, though it can remove causes for numberless future wars in four ways: (1) by making peace possible; (2) by assuring its continuance; (3) by making the entire covenant flexible enough to meet ever new and unforeseen needs; (4) lastly, and chiefly, by organizing the world for the tasks of peace.

(1) The League alone made any agreement on a treaty possible. As to the military safeguards on the Rhine, as to Dalma-

tia, as to Danzig, for instance, harmony, or even patched-up temporary compromise, among states that were to be presently left singly to their self-defense was impossible of attainment. Even now, without the United States, any agreement about Armenia, Albania, and so forth, appears all but hopeless.

(2) The Sarre Valley is actually governed by the League, and so well that the conterminous regions are petitioning to be annexed to it. With our aid, the German colonies, the lands east of Poland, etc., might have become at least real *māndatories*, not prizes for conquest.

(3) Hard-and-fast treaties, unchangeable in their terms, though they had become impossible, have been the direct cause of numberless wars. The League offers the means for calm discussion as continuous as the processes of change itself. The new states of Middle Europe have every one a fringe and admixture of unwilling aliens; and every one of them, also, leaves some of its own nationals under foreign rule. All their present borders are open to correction. In some regions, such as Upper Silesia and Holstein, no temporary decision, even, seems now possible. But only a World League can hold these questions open for future events to settle.

(4) Above all, the need of world organization for peaceful intercourse was the supreme necessity which really produced the League. Railways and all rights of transit and transportation of goods, commercial laws, financial regulations, have heretofore been selfishly national only. Few even knew their neighbor's needs; none regarded them. Hence infinite waste and loss for all. To make peace profitable is the best preventive of war. If secret economic treaties come to an end, if each nation will grant full freedom of transit, and will trade with all others on impartial terms, no actual attempt to regulate traffic to suit the acute needs of the several nations seems desirable. If an international coinage, such as has been so beneficent for the "Latin League," is not now attainable, at least the rates of exchange, if duly studied by impartial experts, can be made more stable and just than now, when they in many cases are prohibitive of all safe or profitable trade.

Very interesting and largely new are the details as to the action of the special bureaus of the League, each, of course, in expert hands. The hygienic work, for example, to prevent plagues and pestilence, reminds an

American of the Rockefeller Foundation and its international activities. A special Information Section keeps the League in touch with the public. The judicial section has for one large work the interpretation of the Treaty itself, whose hasty French and English texts have equal authority, but often differ hopelessly. Here a Hollander of hearty pro-Ally sentiments is at the head, but it is known that Mr. Root is not the only American specialist already in the League's service. Again, a Norwegian heads the commission that rules in the Sarre Valley and at Danzig, and protects the alien minorities in all lands. The Statistical Section is as yet dependent on information supplied to it by the nationals for each country, but the staff of impartial experts now being assembled can be of unlimited service to all.

Most advanced, in certain regards, is the task of the Labor Section, because the inter-

national conventions and agreements of the labor organizations are far in advance of any such movements by other classes of citizens. In a sense, their activity seems that of a pioneer for the League itself. In particular, at the Washington Labor Conference of 1919, Austria and Germany were admitted to full participation. Similar action by the League itself is regarded by the writer as urgently necessary, though he recognizes, no less, the fact that public opinion in France would not tolerate even the thought of it.

This last passage especially confirms the impression that this instructive and constructive paper was not written by a Frenchman. Every serious student of contemporary history will find the entire discussion indispensable. Truly patriotic and philanthropic Americans may well ponder, also, its application to our own national and personal sins of omission and commission.

DOES GERMANY MEAN PEACE?

IN the *Fortnightly Review* (London), Mr. J. Ellis Baker publishes certain reflections on the Spa meeting under the heading: "Will Germany keep the peace?" Although he does not go so far as to answer this question directly in the negative, he reminds us of the historical fact that since the earliest ages Gauls and Teutons, French and Germans, have been fighting for superiority and for the possession of the Rhine Valley, and "every defeat was in due course followed by a war of revenge on the part of the vanquished." Then, there is little hope that the essentially warlike character of the Germans will change overnight.

The average German is at least as much interested in military affairs and in war as the average Englishman is in sports and politics.

He admits that at the moment the German people in general are heartily sick of militarism and of war, but this, he suggests, is a passing phase. The Germans have discarded the Hohenzollern monarchy; but they have not by any means become enthusiastic republicans.

On the contrary, they are discovering the shortcomings of democracy and are turning once more towards that autocratic form of government under which they have lived and flourished for centuries. That may be seen from the result of the recent elections. It should also not be for-

gotten that the revolution of November, 1918, did not break out because the Germans had a serious quarrel with the monarchy as a political institution, but because the Germans believed that William II. was chiefly responsible for the war and for Germany's downfall. . . . The Germans, though Democrats by profession, are militarists at heart. Most Germans blame the ex-Emperor rather for his failing as a soldier than for his failing as a ruler. Leading democrats, in discussing and abusing William II., call him a crowned coward and a despicable deserter before the enemy. Such attacks are greeted with loud cheers at public meetings. Many Germans maintain that the revolution would probably not have occurred, and would certainly not have succeeded, had the Emperor played a soldier's part, placed himself at the head of his troops and braved death.

As we know, German education has long been on Chauvinistic lines. "The German professors have belittled to the utmost the achievements of all other nations, and they have always treated with particular contempt the French and the Poles." They have habitually described the Poles as "the Frenchmen of the East."

The Germans dislike, of course, all the nations which were ranged against them during the war. However, realizing that they cannot fight once more all the world, they have, for prudential reasons, determined to be on more or less good terms with England and America, and have reserved their bitterest hatred for the French and the Poles. . . . The hatred borne to these two nations is almost indescribable.

A war with France or with Poland would satisfy Germany's hatred and would therefore be very popular. Besides it would, if victorious, be exceedingly profitable to Germany both from the political and economic point of view. Before the war Germany was the leading power on the Continent. Her predominance has passed to France. The defeat of France would restore to Germany her old preëminence in Continental Europe, while a victory over the Poles would give back to Germany her old frontiers in the East and would vastly increase Germany's power and influence in Eastern, Southeastern, and Southern Europe. It might force some of the newly-created weak states to place themselves under Germany's protection.

Economically speaking, Germany would have everything to gain by a successful war against France and Poland. She has lost some of her best agricultural districts by the cessions to these countries, and will henceforth have to depend largely on foreign food. Again, the defeat has been absolutely disastrous to her manufacturing industries. Upper Silesia and the Saar Valley contain 45.7 per cent., or nearly one-half, of Germany's coal. These districts provided approximately as much coal as the whole of the United Kingdom.

During the period under review coal production in the Saar Valley has almost trebled, and in Upper Silesia has more than quadrupled. In 1913 these two districts produced 31.9 per cent., or nearly one-third of Germany's coal. These two districts produce fifty per cent. more coal than the whole of France. The manufacturing industries usually settle about the coal pits. With these coal fields Germany would lose a very large part of her manufacturing industries.

If she is to regain her prosperity, there would seem to be but one field open to her for exploitation—Russia. Control of the material resources of Russia would alone enable her to cope successfully with a blockade such as that which brought her to her knees in 1918. Meanwhile, so far as the continued attractiveness to Germany of an "Eastern policy" is concerned, it is significant that in a German book, entitled "Stretch out the Hand to the Russian—a Book for the Reconstruction of Germany," which was published at the end of last year, the writer recommends that "in order to facilitate the opening up of Russia by Germans and its colonization by millions of Germans. . . . Russian should be made a compulsory subject in the German intermediate schools, in the so-called gymnasia Greek should be replaced by Russian and German education should be shaped with the deliberate object of preparing a Russo-German reunion.



THE NEW ATLAS—THE GERMAN MINER, WHO HAS TO CARRY THE WEIGHT OF THE WORLD
From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)

An Eastern policy appears highly attractive to many patriotic Germans not only because they think that their country may militarily, politically, and economically reëstablish its preëminence with Russia's help, with the assistance of the boundless resources of that country, but also because in such a policy they hope to receive the support of the Magyars, who are as warlike, as stubborn, and as irreconcilable as are the Prussians themselves. Poland and the other border states have become independent at the cost of Germany, of Hungary and of Russia. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that at some time or other these three countries might reëstablish the old triple alliance of the eighteenth century and partition once more Poland and deal with the other states which have recently arisen.

Incalculable circumstances and events may determine the action of Germany, Hungary, and Russia. Tradition, passion, and interest may bring about their coöperation. Germany may either deliberately try to re-draw the map of Europe according to her own ideas, or she may choose to participate in the quarrels of her neighbors, or she may be dragged into a new war more or less against her will. In any case it is, of course, quite clear to the Prusso-Germans who wish to recreate Germany's preëminence by force of arms that Germany's political and military power is lamed as long as the country is disunited. A bold and daring foreign policy is, naturally, impossible for Germany as long as it remains a democracy. Therefore, the first step towards the rehabilitation of Germany would be the destruction of the Republic.

THE STATES AND THE SOLDIER BONUS

THERE has, of course, been much discussion of the bonus and other plans for the reward of millions of young men who sacrificed themselves at a critical age for the preservation of civilization; but there seems to have been little comment upon the matter other than in its relation to the federal government. Mr. William E. Hannan, in the *Times* (New York) of September 5th, calls attention to projects in many States and tells us that sixteen States have already enacted substantial legislation on the subject. A cash bonus goes to approximately 1,148,297 ex-service men in eight States. Mr. Hannan says:

Eleven of the sixteen States encourage the returned soldier to continue his education by remitting to him all tuition fees or the grant of a scholarship of several hundred dollars a year; while three of the States plan to give relief to any soldier or his dependents who may need it.

The foregoing activities involve on the part of the States a very considerable money expenditure. In the case of the cash bonus alone, already provided by Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin, the amount will total \$57,100,000, and if the voters in Maine, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island approve the cash bonus acts passed down to them by the Legislatures, the further sum of \$62,500,000 will be added.¹ By these eight States, therefore, a grand total of \$119,600,000 in cash bonuses will be expended.

Massachusetts led in this State movement by appropriating \$10 a month for men and officers on May 2, 1917, and later providing a \$100 bonus in cash. New Hampshire gives her men \$100 in cash, and Wisconsin pays them \$10 a month for the period in service, with a minimum of \$50, while Minnesota awards \$15 a month for every month or fraction thereof after April 6, 1917. Among the other States New York gives \$10 a month and stands out with \$250 as a limit and the establishment of a State disability fund to which bonuses may be assigned for the benefit of the wounded. Most of the States raise the necessary funds by issuing bonds, but New Hampshire is raising \$600,000 by a special tax and \$1,500,000 by bonds, while Wisconsin raised \$15,000,000 by taxing 3 mills per dollar on assessed valuation and by a surtax on personal and corporation incomes.

Connecticut authorizes the purchase of Government securities totaling \$2,500,000,

only the interest of which is to be used for the aid, care, and burial of ex-service men and their dependents through a State organization of the men. Wisconsin provides a fund of \$500,000 for such purposes in addition to the cash bonus, but limits the aid to \$30 a month per person.

The educational measures are perhaps most constructive, and eleven States have smoothed the way through college and university. Iowa permits public school attendance as many months after the age of 21 as the service man spent in the federal forces before he attained majority. Colorado has established a \$200,000 fund from which the veteran may borrow \$200 on his five-year note bearing interest after three years, to be used strictly for educational purposes. Illinois awards scholarships of four years to any normal school or the State University, and Minnesota gives a \$200 scholarship. New York limits scholarships to 450 on competitive examination, worth \$200 a year, half of which may be used for maintenance and limited to three years.

North Dakota gives \$25 a month to each veteran to be used for home purchase or for education. Oregon provides soldier scholarships of \$200 a year for four years. South Dakota gives free education in State institutions, providing \$15,000 for the first year. Utah Agricultural College is open to veterans without payment of entrance fee, while Washington gives free education in the State University.

Wisconsin seems to have adopted the most comprehensive scheme, providing \$30 a month for each ex-service person in regular attendance at an educational institution, not to exceed \$1080 for four years, the law expiring July 1, 1924. Cash bonuses and educational funds are not both available, and to take advantage of the opportunities provided for education it is necessary to repay to the State any cash bonus already received. It is permissible for the State Board of Education to send students out of the State in order to give them the special education they desire, and 262 such students attend 99 different educational institutions, while the needs of many who cannot attend are met by night schools and correspondence extension courses in the University of Wisconsin.

Wisconsin has paid the educational bonus of \$30 a month to 4688 persons and estimates the four-year cost at \$4,063,040; while in

¹Maine voters endorsed the bonus in the State election, September 13th.

Oregon 4085 student veterans have received \$447,687.02. Illinois granted 1315 university scholarships worth \$50,214 a year, and 139 normal school scholarships. New York has granted 450 scholarships at a cost so far of \$90,000. The educational provisions, therefore, are not only more far-reaching and constructive in their benefits to the ex-service men and women and to the State itself, but they are also a smaller burden upon State finances.

Out of Massachusetts 193,415 troops went to war, and 242,000 men and dependents have so far applied for the bonus, with average payments of \$50 each to 75,000 men and women on the \$10 a month basis and \$18,500,000 under the \$100 flat bonus. Of Minnesota's 123,325 troops, 105,000 have applied for the cash bonus and \$10,000,000 has thus far been paid out. Wisconsin has 105,000 applications from her 122,215 troops enlisted in the war, and 94,000 claims have been adjusted at a cost of \$12,533,126.20; while relief measures to 838 convalescents have cost \$97,654.

The policy under which these bonuses is

arranged is well stated in Massachusetts (190 Mass. 611-615) in the opinion of the Justices, which says: "The power to reward distinguished public service, with a view to the promotion of loyalty and patriotism, has long been regarded as one of the attributes of organized government. . . . For many purposes and in a certain field Massachusetts is a sovereign State, maintaining an independent government. In another relation it is a member of the family of States, and a constituent force in the national organization. We are inclined to the opinion that in this relation it is so identified with the nation that it may treat the service of its citizens who serve to its credit in the armies of the United States as entitled to recognition from Massachusetts as a sovereign State. Each of us is a citizen of Massachusetts as well as a citizen of the United States. Massachusetts may honor her citizens for what they do for the National Government in those fields to which she sends them as her representatives under the Constitution and laws of the United States."

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION— INFLATION AND DEFLATION

A WRITER in the *Forum* (Stockholm, Sweden), Ivar Lagerwall, Ph.D., who describes himself as a former producer, by advancing age reduced to being a consumer only, discusses these four economic terms in their relations. He says at the outset:

Being a consumer only, suffering most seriously from the high cost of living, I have a most direct interest in the deflation, which, if everything goes according to plan, is to treble my capital and my income. I am not boasting any heroic unselfishness, and all my natural sympathies are therefore on the side of the deflationists. But a long life has taught me to suspect the natural sympathies, and therefore I ask myself the question: Is in this case also reason on their side?

It would—there is no doubt about it—have been a blessing if the currency and credit inflation could have been avoided. But this presupposes that the war should have been avoided, or at least stopped early enough to avoid the entire European economic catastrophe. As is shown by the events of history, the inflation was unavoidable and we have to reckon with it and its consequences. To him whose ideal it is to shut off Sweden from economic relations abroad it may seem wise to pursue with ruthless conse-

quence a monetary system that will at once force down consumption, export, wages, profit of production, commerce, and capital, reducing the people's chances to work to a degree that will make emigration necessary on a scale hitherto unknown. This view is possibly attractive to those who consider Sweden overpopulated.

But those who with a perhaps unwise human kindness wish life, health, and happiness to the population that are either within their own country or outside its boundaries, they find it difficult to become reconciled to the thought of these strictly logical strangulation methods. These methods, when they are let out of the quiet of the study, taste too much of vivisection—on human beings. It is true that the return to a sound money system by reducing the means of payment and limiting credit is put forth by the theorists as the most important means of restoring easy circumstances in this world; but at the same time every practical advice to the producing and consuming public winding up with an exhortation to consume less and produce more. Is it not a contradiction? For what else is that, which is produced, to be used, if not to be given over to consumption, directly or indirectly? The producer will soon become tired of manufacturing stock, and the simple instinct of self-preservation will teach him to limit his production, when the market is falling off, owing to reduced consumption.

The application of economic laws to the com-

plicated structure of the modern commonwealth is not an easy matter. It is very easy to pronounce the undisputable truth that the interest of consumption is everybody's interest. We are all consumers of a great number of articles and producers of but a few. Many even produce nothing at all. But the fact is that it is the consumers' interest that there shall be produced a great deal, and this must be cheap. The producer will also dispose of a great deal, but he does not want to part with it at a low price. Over-production with consequent under-price is his horror. That he should produce for the sake of love of humanity and concern about the public welfare, that we must not expect. Concern for the interests of his own family is a motive for his actions that is as justifiable as it is beneficial for the public good.

There is no more reason why we should expect of the consumer that he should, for the sake of the public good, limit his consumption and save. Anybody that is inclined to save does so in obedience to his natural bent. The others, if they do save, do it for the benefit of their own family, or for some certain purpose, that has attracted their interest. Economy with a conscious intent of serving the public thereby is practiced probably only by some national economists. I knew a man who declined a regular pension, when he had received a public office, the income whereof was sufficient for his existence. He was truly a national economist. His name was Berg-falk, Professor of National Economy at the University of Upsala. However, even in his case the saving did not go to the public treasury in general, but to the university, from the funds of which the salary of the emeritus was paid.

This writer thinks that while it might have been well enough to preach the economy of consumption in times when the possession of luxuries was limited to a comparatively small circle of prosperous property owners, high officials, and merchants, such an exhortation would be utterly hopeless of success at this time when the great mass of working people have attained incomes that give them unprecedented comfort and participation in pleasures and satisfactions of all kinds.

"Work and save" becomes under these conditions a beautiful device, which is admired by all, and which is followed by those few in whose nature it resounds. The thing is to make work and economy truly attractive, and the economic tasks are therefore for our present-day governments not as simple as one might believe from the criticism of the theorists. In order to satisfy the permanent interests of the consumption it is necessary to create for production conditions that will allow both labor and capital a sufficient profit. It will be a temporary sacrifice for the consumption; but it must be made in order to safeguard the future.

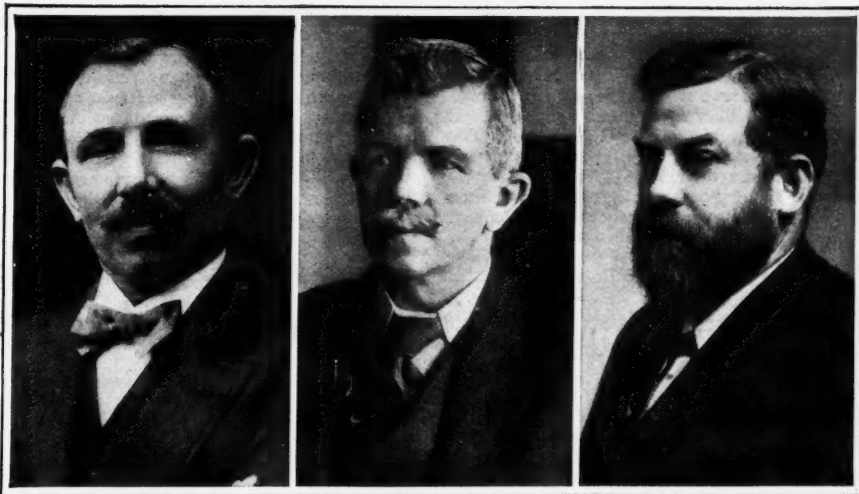
It is from this viewpoint practical men are looking forward to deflation with rather great anxiety. Deflation must come, that is evident. But it must come cautiously and successfully, not violently through strangulation methods, which would be still more dangerous to the industrial

life than the high cost of living. In the relatively splendid economical situation of our Scandinavian countries we can afford the luxury of considering the high cost of living as our greatest misfortune. But let us look beyond and catch a few glimpses of the bottomless misery that exists throughout Central and Eastern Europe, of the real want, of the hunger, the physical suffering, the darkened existence, excluding every ray of the joy of life. Then perhaps we shall find that more important than the lowering of the price level is the concern about opportunity to work, without which even good money and cheap goods will not be of much avail. Increase of production must be the immediate goal. When this has reached its acme, the decline in prices and deflation will probably come of their own accord.

Perhaps they will come even too fast—not for capitalists and officials, but for those who through their work have to pay taxes in hard-earned good money, serving to furnish doubled if not trebled interest on Government loans, subscribed to by the lenders in depreciated currency. It will be a gift of a few hundred millions to those who need it the least. Are our lawmakers considering this, when they are planning to take new loans for purposes of which at least some could wait?

Reference is made to a recent statement in an English newspaper to the effect that prices, wages, profits, and the interest rate must all come down, but that the national debt must remain constant. According to this argument there will be a return to conditions somewhat similar to those existing prior to 1914. All taxes will then bring a little less than they are bringing now. The debt burden will rise in the same proportion as the prices drop. The unchanged interest on the national debt must be paid out of the greatly reduced income of the individual. Commenting on this statement, the Swedish writer says:

In Sweden we are fortunate enough not to have a national debt that compares with England's eight thousand million pounds. But it will nevertheless be bitter enough to have to hand out in good money a considerably increased income or consumption tax to pay this great premium to the state's creditors. The national economists will say: it is a just punishment for having permitted inflation. It rather puts one in mind of a physician who treats a pneumonia patient and asks: Why did you contract the fever? It seems to me that the inflation is, like the fever, a symptom, not the disease itself. In our case the disease was the infection of the world war, a retroaction of a world policy against the influence of which we stood powerless. All really big wars have brought increased prices and inflation. The greater they have been, the wider effect have the resulting phenomena had. Neither the disease nor its resulting phenomena can be avoided as long as the peoples are satisfied with leaders in whom the old fallacy is living forth, that their own happiness can be built only upon the misfortune of others.



J. H. THOMAS, M. P.

J. R. CLYNES, M. P.

BEN TURNER

THREE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE "COUNCIL OF ACTION"

BRITISH LABOR'S "COUNCIL OF ACTION"

IN the *Illustrated London News* of August 28 appears a complete list of the members of the so-called "Council of Action," which reported on August 13 to the special labor conference at the Central Hall, Westminster, the following resolutions:

That this Conference of Trade Union and Labor representatives hails with satisfaction the Russian Government's declaration in favor of the complete independence of Poland as set forth in their Peace Terms to Poland, and, realizing the gravity of the international situation, pledges itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia. It accordingly instructs the Council of Action to remain in being until they have secured: (1) An absolute guarantee that the armed forces of Great Britain shall not be used in support of Poland, Baron Wrangel, or any other military or naval effort against the Soviet Government. (2) The withdrawal of all British naval forces operating directly or indirectly as a blockading influence against Russia. (3) The recognition of the Russian Soviet Government and the establishment of unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Great Britain and Russia.

This conference further refuses to be associated with any alliance between Great Britain and France or any other country which commits us to any support of Wrangel, Poland, or the supply of munitions or other war material for any form of attack upon Soviet Russia. The Conference authorizes the Council of Action to call for any and every form of withdrawal of Labor which circumstances may require to give effect to the foregoing policy, and calls upon every trade union official, executive committee, local council

of action, and the membership in general to act swiftly, loyally, and courageously in order to sweep away secret bargaining and diplomacy and to assure that the foreign policy of Great Britain may be in accord with the well-known desires of the people for an end to war and the interminable threats of war.

Among the better-known members of the Council are Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P., Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P., and Mr. Ben Turner. Writing in the *Sunday Times* (London) of August 22, Mr. Thomas justifies his position as follows:

My identification with the body known as the Council of Action on the subject of Russia has resulted in more than the usual volume of abuse being showered upon my head from certain quarters. . . . Hitherto I have always refused to support any and every attempt to call a strike for the purpose of obtaining something which could properly be secured by placing a x at the ballot-box. I still subscribe to that policy. But . . . are we to believe that there was no danger of war and that all these statements were quite meaningless? I declare emphatically that there was a danger of war, and I add quite deliberately that the British Labor movement only interpreted the horror of the people generally at the prospect of another war. . . . I did not disguise from the delegates at the great Labor Conference my own view that their action was a challenge to the authority of a Parliament—a challenge which, even if justified in the prevailing circumstances, involved grave consequences.

The suggestion that the Council of Action is a mere tool of the Russian Government subsidized with Bolshevik gold, only waiting for an excuse

to overthrow the Constitution in order to establish Soviet rule in this country, is simply moonshine, and reflects no credit upon those whose business it is to inform the public. The British workers are as loyal to-day and as patriotic as ever they were. They have merely demonstrated how keenly they realize the effect of war. The workers know something of its horrors, and are determined to use their full power in order to prevent this country being dragged further at the tail of any other nation merely to give support first to one adventurer and then another. . . .

I am quite aware that the action taken by Labor on this occasion constitutes a dangerous precedent which may be followed by others. I know all too well that there are many people who, whilst agreeing with Labor taking a strong stand on this question, are considerably perturbed at the method actually employed. I personally have no fear nor misgivings. The workers felt in this crisis that the Government was not sufficiently alive to the voice of the great mass of the people, so they impressed upon the Government in the most effective manner possible what their view was.

THE FIRST JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S DIARY

THE first Japanese embassy to make an official visit to any country came to the United States during President Buchanan's Administration in 1860. The Ambassador, Muragaki-Awaji-mo-Kami, kept a diary during his sojourn at Washington. This interesting document has been translated, and has recently appeared as a leading feature of the *Japan Magazine* (Tokio). Describing the reception of the party at Washington, the Ambassador says:

Secretary of State Cass is a tall man of mature age—nearly 70—with a genial manner, says the old diary. Although this was our first interview and we had traveled many weeks to reach him, his conversation was as easy, as friendly, as free from the slightest formality as if we had been friends for years and had merely come from a neighboring town.

President Buchanan is a man of over seventy years, with a genial and dignified manner. Like the Cabinet Ministers and the ordinary civilians, he wore a plain, black coat. There appears to be no uniform or special dress to denote official rank in the United States. Contrary to what we had imagined, the President does not reside in a princely castle or stately palace. The house he lives in is not his own; it is the property of the State and he only occupies it while he is President.

A dinner was given to the embassy by Secretary Cass. On this occasion the party passed through the streets of Washington for the first time at night. They were impressed by the fact that gas lamps kept the streets well lighted, so that it was not necessary to carry lanterns. Apparently the most vivid recollections of the dinner party that the Ambassador retained had to do with the dancing. His account of that feature of the festivities follows:

After dinner, at which there were various kinds of wines, we were ushered into another very large room, the floor of which was of smooth board and had no carpet.

Immediately after we were seated the music commenced and an officer in uniform, with one arm around a lady's waist and the other hand holding one of her hands, started moving around the room on his toes, many others following his example. Upon inquiring we were told that this was a "dance."

As I watched the various movements of the dancers I could not help smiling at the way in which the very large skirts, called crinolines, which the ladies wore, increased in volume until they assumed enormous proportions when the dance attained the top speed.

This continued until midnight. We had never seen or imagined anything like it. It was of course with no small wonder that we had witnessed this extraordinary sight of men and bare-shouldered women hopping around the floor arm in arm, and our wonder at the strange performance became so great that we began to doubt whether we were not on another planet. . . .

We are told that all, young and old, rich and poor, all classes of people in this country, are fond of this pastime of dancing. It seems very funny, indeed, to us, as dancing in our country is done only by professional girls and is not at all a man's pastime. And there are the arms in public around women's waists.

The members of the party paid a visit to the halls of Congress, but apparently were not profoundly impressed by the oratorical efforts of the Representatives and Senators whom they heard:

As we entered, a member was making a speech at the top of his voice. When he sat down another stood up and talked in an excited manner. There was no end to the speakers. One after another they rose, some speaking quietly and some wildly brandishing their arms as if they had lost their tempers. Our impression was that some important state affairs were under discussion, but of course we did not understand a single word and we did not ask what was going on, as we were afraid that would not be the correct thing for us to inquire into the state of affairs of another nation. In the evening we were informed that matters of a quite commonplace nature had been before the Congress.

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS OF TO-DAY

AT the meeting of the American Bar Association at St. Louis on August 26 former Senator Albert J. Beveridge, the biographer of Chief Justice Marshall, delivered an important address on "The Assault upon American Fundamentals," having reference to the national and State laws recently enacted for the punishment of sedition. Mr. Beveridge's intensive study of the period of John Marshall's rise to power has given him unusual equipment for making a comparison between the famous Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 and the measures recently passed by Congress and our State Legislatures.

Going back to the enactment of the British repressive measures of 1795, which were denounced by Fox as destructive of liberty, Mr. Beveridge says:

Arrests, trials, convictions increased. In the name of patriotism a sort of holy war against ideas was proclaimed and ruthlessly carried on, the government required everybody to encase their minds in a straight-jacket of conventional thinking. The British Sedition Act of 1795 declared mere membership in certain societies to be criminal; thus came the recrudescence of that doctrine of tyranny, "guilt by association." Men were prosecuted not for overt acts, but for belonging to the proscribed societies. Yet no real danger existed. The great body of the British people were sound. They abhorred the French Revolution, its practices and its doctrines, as much as King George himself.

At the same time there was similar alarm in America, and with better reason; for great numbers of Americans were earnest sympathizers with the French Revolution. Formidable organizations modeled on the Jacobin Clubs of France and calling themselves "Democratic Societies," were formed in many States. Through these the gospel of French republicanism was sown broadcast. Certain classes thought they saw in all this a movement for radical change in American institutions and the overthrow of the government. Their frightened eyes beheld the destruction of private property, the downfall of religion, the utter disruption of society. These men sincerely felt that the only method of preserving order and liberty was not by meeting radical arguments in open discussion and demonstrating their fallacy, but by suppressing them altogether.

At this evil moment our relations with the French Republic reached the breaking point. But for the moderation of John Marshall, then Secretary of State, that war with France which actually raged on the oceans for two years, would have been formally declared. French partisans and French propagandists increased their activities; and then in an hour of madness and in the midst of terrific popular excitement, the Federalist majority in Congress enacted the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798. . . . Republican Congressmen bitterly resisted the Alien and Sedition

laws; they said that those measures violated the guarantees of the First Amendment. . . . But the Federalists in Congress and most of the influential leaders of the party throughout the country—"the wise, rich and good" as they called themselves—had completely lost their heads. Terror of the French Revolution and hatred of democracy had extinguished their common sense. . . . The Federalist majority paid no heed, and the bills became laws.

In the numerous prosecutions in the national courts the judges, all of whom belonged to the Federalist party that had enacted these repressive statutes, acted and spoke in the same manner and words that the English judges had used from the beginning of the French Revolution and were continuing to employ. Their charges to juries were like stump speeches; they denounced France in terms of unbridled and lurid violence; they browbeat witnesses, lectured counsel, assailed prisoners at the bar. If the judges thought the offensive writing had a *tendency* to incite disaffection, they inferred that such was the *intent* of the writer; or conversely. . . . The very bitter hatred and profound distrust of the bench caused by the action of national judges in construing and enforcing the Sedition Act of 1798, all but wrecked our judicial establishment—and that bitterness and distrust lasted for more than half a century. Yet the courts are the one steadying influence in our democracy, without which popular government would wreck itself to pieces; and this influence was impaired, well-nigh destroyed, by the judges themselves.

Turning to recent American legislation along similar lines, Mr. Beveridge is severe in his characterization of these statutes:

The occasion has happily passed for prosecutions such as caused a Twentieth Century application of the Eighteenth Century theory of sedition as asserted by English and American judges, when the governments of both countries were in terror of the spread of the French Revolution; but the fact that the Espionage Act of 1917 and the amendments to it of 1918 and 1920, which are in effect a national sedition law, are still on the statute books and will affect speech and press in future wars; the fact that the enactment of other new and more drastic measures is urged upon and being considered by Congress; the fact that many States have passed repressive measures unequaled in severity in any free country in modern times—all these facts compel the careful and immediate consideration by the people, and especially by the American bench and bar, of the wisdom and justice of such legislation, and of the expediency and efficacy of such a policy. If—assuming them to be constitutional—such statutes and such a program really achieve the desired ends—if they actually suppress and prevent the dangerous speech and activities at which they are directed—let them be enforced to the utmost. But let us not fail to consider thoroughly and with calmness what effect they are likely to have.

The Alien and Sedition laws of 1798, savage and intolerable as they were then considered,

nevertheless inflicted comparatively mild punishments, and were limited to a duration of two years; whereas the punishments prescribed by National and State laws recently passed, and the still more stringent ones vigorously urged upon Congress and State legislatures, are without precedent in their severity, and without limit in their duration. Unlike the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798, these State and National present-day statutes do not expire by limitation, but continue until expressly repealed. They are intended to be, and are, permanent statutes. They are meant to cover and do cover any contingencies that may arise in the future.

If the United States at any time hereafter is at war, all these laws will be in effect. But the people in those wars may not be so much of one mind as they fortunately were in the war against Germany.

But the policy of repression has another aspect quite as serious as that of war. In times of national peril few object to either statutes or judicial interpretations inspired by the national emergency; most men suspend until the danger is passed questions as to the constitutionality of legislative acts as well as the legality of official proceedings. But the crisis must be grave indeed to justify the continuance of war practices in

times of peace, provided, of course, we intend to continue our free institutions.

Yet the country is now informed that, at the beginning of the present year, almost fourteen months after our war with Germany was over, great numbers of people were seized, their premises searched and their property taken, all without warrant or due process of law. All this was done without the least reference to the late war. In arranging for the making of these mass arrests the services of spies—"oui under-cover informants" as the government instructions term them—were made use of. It is difficult to see wherein the work of these persons differs from that of the Russian or French *agents provocateurs*.

While most of those thus treated were aliens, some of them were citizens. The terrible facts of these wholesale arrests and incarcerations, and the brutalities accompanying them, are not only vouched for by trustworthy lawyers—including eminent professors of law in a leading university—who have personally investigated them and who are inspired exclusively by a sense of public duty; not only supported by overwhelming evidence not yet successfully refuted, or satisfactorily explained; but in specific cases those facts have been judicially found to be facts by the courts.

WERE THERE AERONAUTS IN 500 B.C.?

WRITING on "Aerial Warfare in Ancient India" in *Discovery* (June), Mr. Iqbal Ali Shah recalls the interesting fact that the science of aviation was conceived in India as early as 500 B. C. Incised in the caves of Ellora are figures of ancient Hindu aerial machines, and there are references in the traditional books of the Brahmans, particularly the Ramayana and Mahabharatta, to the use of "flying carriages" in the earliest period of Indian history. The Ramayana (compiled about 500 B. C.) informs us that Rawan, a King of Ceylon, used to fly over his opponents' armies, "and not infrequently caused them severe loss"; while after the defeat and death of that monarch at the hands of the Brahmans his "flying carriage" became the property of Ramchanda, the Hindu Chief, who flew in it from Ceylon to his capital at Ajindhia. In the Sanskrit classics one comes across numerous aeronautical terms. Among these are *Vaman-yanu*, meaning: To propel a flying carriage, *Vaman-Chirya*, meaning: To fly in a flying carriage, *Vaman-Perbhoot*, meaning: A procession of flying carriages; and *Vaman-Arj*, meaning: One who works a flying carriage (an aeronaut).

Such phrases are very frequently met with in the Hindu epic writings. It is generally admitted

that, when a language is in process of formation, new words and terms are coined as the necessity arises. Is it venturing too far, therefore, to assert that, if flying machines had not existed in Ancient India, such phrases could surely never have come into common use? Why, then, do we find them so deeply embedded in old Sanskrit?

Bombs or "explosion torches," which were hurled from the flying machines, are also mentioned.

The manner of making these primitive bombs is treated of in several ancient manuscripts which exist in India. There are, it is well known, recipes for making fireworks both for purposes of destruction and purposes of pleasure. Rural poets have rendered these recipes into colloquial verse, and in the Indian villages which lie beyond the railway zone there are few rustic youths who cannot recite these ancient formulas.

The method of manufacturing these "aerial torpedoes" was as follows: a pasteboard cylinder about two feet long was filled with charcoal, saltpeter, and nitre, mixed with nails and sharp pieces of glass. The fuse was of coconut fibre, which was ignited before the "bomb" was cast.

Certain rites and ceremonies supposed to be celebrated prior to the manufacture of these explosives increase the strong presumptive evidence in favor of the antiquity of the "art of fireworks" in India. But the absence of any indication of *how* the machines were flown weakens the otherwise presumptive evidence of their having existed.

GENERAL WRANGEL, THE RUSSIAN ANTI-BOLSHEVIST LEADER

UNTIL very recently the English-speaking world knew almost nothing regarding the personality of the man who in the past six months has risen to the rulership of South Russia.

Coming from a distinguished family, of Swedish origin, Baron Peter Wrangel is now in his fortieth year. Beginning as a student of mining engineering, he entered the army as a young man and obtained the rank of Lieutenant. He shortly retired from the service, but joined a Cossack regiment on the outbreak of the war with Japan and served with distinction, being twice promoted for bravery. Later he graduated from the Military Academy, and at the beginning of the Great War in 1914 he was a Captain of Cavalry, but rose rapidly to the rank of Major-General, winning the highest military decorations. On the Galician front after the revolution, it was officially stated that he rendered such service "as to have prevented a great military disaster."

In the summer of 1918 Wrangel joined Denikin's volunteer army as a full private, but was rapidly promoted, until he was given the command of a cavalry division, and finally commanded the right wing of the southern armies under Denikin. On Denikin's final defeat Wrangel was unanimously elected commander-in-chief in the Crimea.

Summarizing these details of Wrangel's career, a writer in the *Illustrated London News* comments enthusiastically on the un-failing success of his administration. On assuming command, Wrangel issued an order by which the peasants were left in undisputed possession of the soil, the local *Zemstvos* being instructed to issue title-deeds recognizing as owners of the land the tillers of the soil, subject to certain conditions. This measure quickly won the confidence of the peasantry, although it displeased the landed aristocracy. He did, however, arrange for the future compensation of the country gentlemen whose estates had been annexed by the peasants.

Although personally an aristocrat, Wrangel is democratic in his ideas, and bases all his measures on the elective principle. He is described as a man about six feet, three inches tall, extraordinarily thin, composed entirely of muscle and bone, and without an ounce of fat on him. It is said that he works



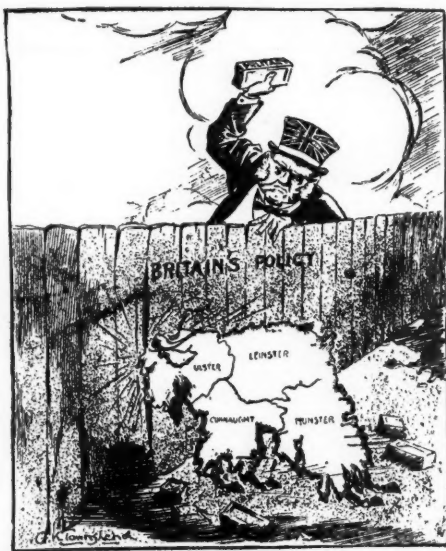
LIEUT.-GEN. BARON PETER WRANGEL

harder than any one in his army, thinks nothing of spending whole days in the saddle, and wherever there is fighting to be done he is usually to be found in the thick of it.

With regard to his views on the Jewish question, this writer quotes from an interview with Wrangel which appeared in a recent number of the Russian edition of *La Cause Commune*, published in Paris. He is there represented as saying that he regarded every pogrom movement, every agitation in that direction, as a calamity to the state, and would oppose them with all the means he could command. "Every pogrom," he is reported to have said, "has a disintegrating effect on the army. Troops participating in a pogrom lose their sense of justice. In the morning they may maltreat Jews, but by evening they will proceed to maltreat the rest of the population."

Among the Russian members of Baron Wrangel's family was the explorer who gave his name to Wrangel Island, off the north coast of eastern Siberia.

AN IRISH REPUBLIC PREDICTED



AFTER FRESH PASTURES

JOHN BULL: "H'm, the more bricks I throw the harder he goes at it!"

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

AN Irish landlord, the Earl of Arran, writes frankly in the *National Review* (London) on the future of Ireland and the Irish question. Although he is convinced that the English people are so weary of Ireland that they will grant all Irish demands, however fantastic, save those which will imperil the existence of the British Empire, yet he feels that even the minimum demand, namely, complete independence, "is such as will shake the safety of the Empire to its foundations."

Whatever may be thought of Sinn Fein methods it is idle to deny the ability with which the leaders have conducted their campaign:

The power of well-organized propaganda in these days is tremendous, and Sinn Fein has not neglected it. All over the civilized world the emissaries of the Irish Republicans have sown the seed of their doctrines, while the same means have been neglected by England. Propaganda pushing the claims of Ireland have been scattered all over the universe, and have successfully enlisted widespread attention. England is regarded abroad as the oppressor of a down-trodden race, and any action she may take towards the restoration of law and order will meet with strong and probably unjust criticism. A very small case of bloodshed will be magnified into a massacre, and England has let things go so

far in Ireland that it will only be by drastic measures she will be able to restore law and order.

As this writer views it, the question as to the future of Ireland resolves itself into this: "Will an opportunist government, living its official life from day to day, choose to take a strong line and, defying criticism, insist on the reestablishment of law and order in Ireland, without counting the cost; or will the same government, in the hopes of remaining in office a little longer, establish an inimical Irish Republic on the flank of Great Britain, with the whispered but heartfelt prayer—'Give peace in our time, O Lord'?"

In the opinion of the writer, formed on personal and life-long experience of Irish aspirations and Irish determination, combined with the present state of English politics, there is very little doubt that we shall see a republic in Ireland granted and set up by an English government. The growing triumphs of the Sinn Fein cause, the sympathy of the world, the support of the English Labor Party, the contempt in which the English Cabinet is held in Ireland, have all given such confidence to the Irish Republicans that the torrent of the demand for Irish independence will be almost impossible to stem, and it is the writer's belief that within two years the flag of a perhaps carefully camouflaged Irish Republic will be floating over Dublin Castle.

Although the present British Government has decided more than once that Irish secession will be fought by the whole strength of the Empire, the Earl of Arran seems to doubt the ability of the government to perform its promises. He asks his readers to use their own judgment as to the future. Will the government be sufficiently strong to defy Sinn Fein and the antagonisms aroused in the Dominions and at home, or will it give in to the demand for a republic to save its own existence for a few more years?

As to the offer of the Home Rule bill he says:

Ten years ago this bill would have seemed to Ireland more than a fulfilment of her wildest dreams: now Ireland laughs it to scorn. More will be offered by England, and that increase will be treated by Ireland with the same contemptuous refusal.

What, then, is the future? Terrible although it is to a nation already worn by war, the outcome of the situation can only be bloodshed on a large scale. For whatever of the two courses is adopted by England, the enforcement of English rule in Ireland or the granting of an Irish Republic must in the end mean a great military campaign.

WHY THE UNION HAS FAILED IN IRELAND

MR. T. W. ROLLESTON, who is characterized by the *London Review of Reviews* as an exceptionally well-informed and experienced Irish journalist, contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* (August) an earnest appeal for a recognition of the real troubles that have produced the unending discontent of Ireland with the English Government. "Why," he asks, "do the Irish, alone of the people of the United Kingdom, hate England?"

Writing from the standpoint of a convinced Unionist, who attributes the failure of the Union solely to the fact that the Union has never been impartially or even honestly administered by British Governments, Mr. Rolleston contends that the traditional policy which devised the legislation of the eighteenth century that was deliberately aimed at preventing Ireland from becoming a possible rival in commerce and in industry to Great Britain, still manifests itself at frequent intervals. He recalls the furious protest against the proposed relaxation of the Irish commercial code in 1778, which drove Edmund Burke out of Parliament for daring to support a very moderate reform; and he contends that the outcry which was raised by the English motor interests against the proposal to start a branch of Mr. Henry Ford's motor factory in Cork in 1916, was inspired by the same latent hostility to Irish progress.

The heart of the trouble lies in the fact that while nominally a partner in the Union and actually a full sharer in its burdens, Ireland's interests have too often been regarded as something alien and remote, something to be attended to only when forced by one means or another on the notice of the legislature, and not identified as a matter of course with those of Great Britain.

Of this instinctive feeling towards Ireland a striking instance occurred in 1897, when the government (Conservative) finding that the existing incidence of poor-rate bore unfairly on landowners, brought in a bill which relieved them of a certain proportion of this charge at the cost of the Consolidated Fund. *From the benefits of this measure Irish landowners were excluded. Why? There was no reason whatever, except that they were Irish.*

Twenty years later we have the same story again in a different setting and under a Liberal government. In the winter of 1918, after the Armistice, the War Office returned to a landowner in County Dublin certain lands which had been compulsorily taken from her for public ob-

jects. When returned, they were found to have been very seriously deteriorated, to the extent, as sworn by a valuer, of £2500. The owner applied for compensation; it was refused; and she sued the War Office, the case coming before the Master of Rolls on the 13th of December. The War Office denied liability on the express ground that although, under the regulation by which the lands were seized, there was a statutory provision for compensation, this provision applied to Great Britain alone. *It was expressly provided*, said Serjeant Matheson, counsel for the War Office, *that that was not to apply to Ireland.* The plaintiff therefore learned, and all Ireland with her, that although she as a taxpayer and citizen must pay her share of compensation to an English farmer whose lands were commandeered, there was no reciprocal obligation—the War Office might take her lands by force, treat them as it pleased, and deny all liability on the simple ground that she lived on the wrong side of St. George's Channel. It was a trifle, no doubt, this little item of wrong among the many wrongs inflicted, often perhaps unavoidably, in the stress of the world-conflict. But it is far from being a trifle that a whole people should thus be stamped with the brand of inferiority and disqualification.

This minor incident is, however, amply borne out in the extremely important question of Irish education. Sir Henry Duke said in 1917, when he was Irish Chief Secretary, that of about 3000 Irish male teachers in Grade III. the beginning salary was only £63, rising by triennial increments to £84. Of the 7700 female teachers there were 5700 in Grade III. beginning at £50 a year.

It sometimes happened that the principal of a school of 200 or 300 pupils in Dublin or Belfast received only £100 a year. He then added a sentence which really defies all attempt at adequate comment. "Having regard to their pay," he said, "he wondered why they did not come over to England in large numbers."

This observation was made by an Irish Chief Secretary, apparently without the slightest suspicion that he was saying anything remarkable, one hundred and seventeen years after the passing of the Act of Union. In that utterance we have actually heard for once the living voice of the system which has brought about the present situation in Ireland.

During one period, Mr. Rolleston points out, some attempt was made to introduce a just and rational policy towards Ireland. It began with Mr. Gladstone's Church Act in 1869, was suspended for twelve years and then resumed under the stress of the land agitation in the early eighties. It was continued by Mr. Arthur Balfour and his



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ALBERT MEMORIAL SQUARE, BELFAST

brother and ended with the National University Act of 1908.

It was admirable so far as it went, but it closed with half the work undone. The just and simple principle that Ireland, if she was a member of the Union, and paid the taxes of the Union, was entitled to full equality in every respect with England and Scotland, was still very far from being carried out.

Then came the turn of the tide. Mr. Birrell repealed the Wyndham Act in 1908 while it was in the full tide of success.

Next came a peculiar incident. It was an affair of no small magnitude in itself, and it gave a very powerful impulse to the Sinn Féin movement, which had hitherto failed to attract any serious support in Ireland. The Cunard Company had a mail contract with the government—paid for of course by Irish as well as British money—one cause of which required their liners to call at Queenstown going and coming between ports in the United States and Liverpool. They wished to be released from this condition; they applied to the government for permission to disregard it; the permission was granted, in spite of indignant protests from Ireland, and in 1913 steamers ceased to call. The effect of this was that every emigrant and every letter from Ireland had to go first to Liverpool and be shipped there for the U. S. A., with a similar delay and expense on the return journey. This stoppage of the mail and emigrant traffic was estimated as a loss to the South of Ireland of £400,000 a year.

On August 5, 1918, Lord French announced in a famous speech the intention of initiating a policy of generous economic improvement in Ireland. But no steps have ever been taken to execute that policy.

Instead, we have now a régime of blank coercion and oppression, a régime under which we have seen people forbidden to go to fairs to sell their produce, forbidden to attend the open-air concerts which have been one of the happiest features in modern Irish life, forbidden to study the Irish language, forbidden to hold a customary Christmas sale of Irish handiwork in the Mansion House, forbidden to make inquiries into the material resources of the country. And all this without one ray of hope that even if Ireland were perfectly tranquil and loyal anything whatever would be done towards giving her that position of full equality within the Union which is her manifest right, and the steady denial of which is the real cause of all the present troubles.

Parliament, Mr. Rolleston concludes, is trying at present to settle Ireland by forcing on it a measure which the whole country already detests. Why not give, instead, something that the whole country will welcome—something already granted in name and form and only needing to be put into effective operation? The true basis of imperial unity is the establishment of such an economic connection as shall convince Ireland that her own interests are entirely linked with those of Great Britain.

A Swiss writer, giving "A Neutral View of Ireland" in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of June 18, last, describes Belfast as a new city.

It numbers about four hundred thousand inhabitants. Three generations ago it was a little country marketplace. It has grown faster than any of its great English rivals, and its history is comparable only with that of some cities in America. The first impulse to its growth did not come directly from Ireland. To be sure, the men and women in its linen mills, and those who toil in its shipyards and around its docks, are Irish. But the raw materials for both great industries are mainly imported from England; timber, steel, and coal come exclusively from that country. Moreover, Belfast's market is almost solely in England. Ireland has no merchant marine of its own. Belfast's factories, and especially its shipbuilding works, have naturally made huge profits during the war, the more so because there was no such labor scarcity in this city as prevailed at other points. Compulsory military service was not introduced in Ireland, and emigration to America was practically stopped. Now, however, the shipbuilding of the whole world faces a crisis, which will react seriously on the prosperity of Belfast.

With this prospect ahead, the city seeks closer relations than ever with England, which alone is able to help it through its difficulty. This fact not only determines the character and political sentiment of the city, but it is the ultimate cause of the Ulster question. That question, which wrecked the last attempt to introduce Home Rule, would be of relatively minor importance were not Belfast, with its gigantic resources and its powerful and resolute industrial interests, determined at all costs to maintain its existing intimate connection with British industry.

GORKY AND THE BOLSHEVISTS

AN article on the alliance of the famous Russian author, Maxim Gorky, with Bolshevism appears in the Swedish *Forum* (Stockholm). The writer, Eugen Liotzky, finds it hard to believe that the most eminent Russian author of his time, whose works have been translated into all civilized languages, has really linked his name with the Bolsheviks. What has he, asks Liotzky, in common with the new autocrats? Is he a real aid to them, or is he to be regarded as one of those counter-revolutionaries who are secretly striving to save as much as may be out of the Russian culture of the past?

As I am personally acquainted with Gorky, I dare claim that Gorky is neither a communist nor any other kind of a counter-revolutionist. He is a whimsical person, spoiled by fate, which sways him now to the right, now to the left. Spoiled by public attention, calculating in his sympathies, Gorky feels that he is always on the stage. If he himself is not acting a part, then others must play according to his will, and in the orchestra, be it large or small, if he appears, the baton must be in his hand.

To him, as to everybody else that appears on a stage, it is a misfortune when he is not spoken of and written about. Thus I remember how unhappy he felt during the years immediately before the war, when the interest in him was on the wane, when the charm that emanated from his writings seemed to disappear, as if it had been engulfed in the maelstrom of political events, and Gorky, who at that time lived on Capri, hardly interested any others than the Italians, who saw in him the interesting Russian emigrant with dangerous dreams of social revolution. Living far away from his native land, his talent began to decline, his colors faded, his political sympathies swayed to and fro. His artistic temperament, craving for the ideally beautiful, seemed depressed at the thought of political strife. The azure of the Mediterranean, Vesuvius in its golden haze, the soft armchair at the table loaded down with books and flowers, gave an invitation to peaceful mental work, to quiet contemplation of memories, to lyric thoughts, to the music of the words.

It was at that time, according to Liotzky, that the conviction took root within Gorky that none but he was destined to lead the revolutionary movement in Russia. The Bolsheviks were already utilizing the glory of his name for their own purposes, and they played skilfully on his vanity. Gorky was not at first in sympathy with the primary

Bolshevist desire to break down and to annihilate, but he permitted himself to be fascinated by the poetry of the conflict, although he had never been intimately connected with the Lenines and Trotsky's, and his nature had little in common with them.

When the war, and with this the revolution, broke out, Gorky—he was then at liberty to return home—did not want to remain passive in the face of events. He tried to curb the movement, by submitting the conduct of the Bolsheviks to the most unmerciful criticism. However, the struggle did not last long. Lenine, full of cunning and capable of the most exquisite flattery, Lenine, the powerful and wily, won a victory over Gorky and did not delay to adorn his triumphal car with Gorky's name. As Gorky gave way to Lenine's gigantic will-power, he lost all political importance. He could now resume his rôle of spectator; indeed, he could even cease to think of politics. His position was finally made clear; instead of being Lenine's opponent he had now become his satellite. He could now give up any endeavor; the Bolsheviks aimed far beyond anything he had ever dreamt of. All he had to do was to float with the current. And he floated.



MAXIM GORKY

The writer recalls the intense horror with which Gorky once turned from Lenine, his disappointments regarding Lunocharsky, the Commissioner of Public Education, and his passionate repudiation of theoretical Bolshevism. His friendship for the Moderate Socialists was well known, and he collaborated in the editorship of the democratic periodical, *Sovremennik*. In 1916 Gorky started a bourgeois paper in company with the Oxford professor Vinogradoff, who never had been a Socialist, but in 1917 he created an out-and-out Socialistic organ in his *Novaia Jizne* ("New Life") in which he thundered against the present Soviet rulers.

In this is found what is tragically mysterious in his personality and his life. He is a dual personality: a rich, poetical, keenly intuitive talent—a weak political head, by nature absolutely incapable of fight. After the Bolsheviks last year during the struggle with him had seen that it was no more possible to make Gorky believe in the communistic paradise than it was to instil fear in him through threats, they found, as has already been told, in his heart a chord, which they understood how to play upon to perfection.

They also knew how to take advantage of Gorky's love for the bourgeois culture, which had made him.

GENERAL WOOD AND CUBAN EDUCATION

GENERAL WOOD, constructive educator, is the subject of a notable article by Ramiro Guerra in *Cuba Contemporanea* (Havana).

During the U. S. military occupation of Cuba (January 1, 1899, to May 20, 1902) first General John R. Brooke was in command (until December 20, 1899) and then General Leonard Wood (the remainder of the time).

Brooke's work was preparatory—"the truly constructive work was realized during General Wood's command . . ." Brooke's census showed two-thirds of the people illiterate (8629 white—or one in 121—literate, and 198 colored—or one in 2627—literate.) All pre-war public schools were closed by General Weyler, leaving a few private institutions.

The university had advanced little since the eighteenth century. Practical and experimental teaching was unknown. The center of highest education was at Santo Domingo, in an old convent without lecture halls, laboratories or libraries! Its meagre equipment was in decay—its Botanical Garden waste land!

Secondary instruction consisted of six schools, situated in the capitals of provinces. Instruction was purely verbal, theoretical and by memory; neither classics nor science was featured, but a hodge-podge. Students had no opportunity to observe, think or experiment; it was a system to atrophy youthful minds. Cuba faced a grave moral and political condition through illiteracy. Skilled labor was scarce.

"The work accomplished in public instruction during General Wood's command was gigantic, without exaggeration," says Guerra.

General Wood's important changes were:

(1) Creation of the Secretary of Public Instruction, and a central directorate of primary teaching.

(2) Creation of a complete system of primary schools.

(3) Formation of a numerous body of teachers.

(4) Construction of schoolhouses.

(5) Creation of Kindergarten instruction and Normal School for Kindergarten teachers.

(6) Reorganization of secondary teaching and creation of vocational teaching.

(7) Bettering of the teaching of arts and professions (mechanics).

(8) Creation of Reform Schools for minors of both sexes.

(9) Reorganization of university teaching and creation of various new schools—such as Engineering, Architecture, Pedagogy, etc.

(10) Creation of the School for Nurses.

In judging this achievement bear in mind that Cuba had just finished a devastating war and that the public treasury was almost empty.

Wood's Order 251 (December 30, 1899) created a Public Secretary of Instruction—an exclusive Department of Education; Order 368 a School Commissioner and the Board of Superintendents. Under Spain there had been an unpaid Commission of Superior Public Instruction, with twelve members selected from prominent officials, which neglected education. Teaching became worthless from the large part politics played in the appointment of teachers.

Mr. A. E. Frye (a distinguished North American educator) appointed Superintendent of Schools by General Brooke—prepared the first School Law (in effect December 6th, 1899—Order 226). This, later, was inadequate to govern the vast increase in the number of schools (from 312 under Brooke to 3313 under Wood). Matthew E. Hanna, Aide de Camp of General Wood, compiled a new law which, after revision by Dr. Enrique José Varona (the new Secretary of Public Instruction) became effective August 1st, 1900 (Order 368). Of this law Dr. Varona (ex-Vice-President of the Republic) said:

This law places in the hands of the people the schools of the people; in the hands of the body of the faculty (or Board of Superintendents) the form and extension of teaching; and in the hands of the Central Government, the Commissioner of Schools, the higher administration of this vast organization—with rights inherent in all executive power. Its intention is to interest the whole people in the work of their regeneration, to teach them to combat that general ignorance which allows to remain unproductive so great a portion of this rich land and makes so many thousands of rational beings mere machines of routine labor. . . .

Mr. Hanna replaced Dr. Echevarría as Commissioner of Schools—his duties being the execution of school laws, while the Superintendent of Schools attended to technical matters. Both were responsible to the Secretary of Public Instruction.

School committees were elected by the

people of the 895 districts. New methods of teaching and new subjects were introduced. Thousands of free text-books, 105,000 modern desks, were bought. The first school census was taken.

Lack of masters was met by establishing six Normal (summer) Schools—one in each provincial capital—and pedagogical courses in nineteen other centers (1900). One thousand three hundred teachers were sent

(free) by the United States to Cambridge, where Harvard University gave them special summer courses free. In 1901, 6603 candidates took teaching examinations; 5566 passed. Subsequent examinations were harder, to elevate the standard.

Teaching was raised to its proper position. Young Cubans of both sexes became teachers—girls from the best families thus becoming economically independent for the first time.

THE ADOPTION OF THE REFERENDUM IN SWEDEN

IN the *Forum* (Stockholm) Leif Kihlberg gives an interesting account of the progress of the movement for a referendum in Sweden. One curious development there has been the shifting of party support for the proposition. Originally in Sweden, as in the United States and in other democratic countries, the demand for the referendum came from the members of the "Left," or the more radical parties. More recently, however, it has been adopted as a feature of the Conservative program. The Conservative elements came to favor the referendum because it was believed that it could be used as a sort of regulator and check on democracy. Radicals joined with Conservatives in Sweden in supporting the reaction against party government, but they became skeptical as to the value of the referendum as a remedy for this evil.

As a result of the debates in the recent parliamentary session the chambers accepted the Constitutional Committee's recommendation "that the Diet should in writing request the King to cause a thorough investigation to be made as to how the referendum had operated in foreign countries, and whether, to what extent, and under what forms and conditions it may be introduced with regard to important questions in our Constitution, and thereupon propose to the Diet such changes of the Constitution as the investigation might make advisable."

The extremely vague, hypothetical form of this recommendation is apparent, and the lack of directing lines was severely criticised. The investigators were not bound by any parliamentary directive rules. Nobody has any knowledge of the importance and the practical effects of the referendum. What was to be expected of the investigation?

This Swedish writer is impressed by the fact that the referendum is to be considered as having originated in Switzerland and having been developed more generally there and in the United States than in any other countries. It is still a stranger, he says, to most constitutions, but the idea has swept the world.

What motives have caused this growth? What practical needs have compelled a revision of constitutions in the direction of popular government? The referendum movement was greatly stimulated by the revolutionary ideas. According to certain interpreters, democratic principles demanded immediate democracy as the extreme consequence of its leading tenets, as being the only reliable guarantee of realizing the sovereign will of the people and also a splendid pedagogical means of universal civic education.

Other practical reasons have also made themselves manifest. A general sense of discontent and distrust, existing especially in the United States with regard to representation, accepted the referendum as the most effective means of controlling the parliamentary corruption. "If we had a truly genuine representative form of government in our legislative assemblies, nobody would propose initiative or referendum in the United States," says a prominent American politician (Woodrow Wilson, 1911).

The referendum as an institution is essentially conservative. It shows a distinct tendency towards economy, a certain cautiousness, sometimes at the expense of foresight, with a strong aversion to anything that tastes of bureaucracy, judging by its practical operation in Switzerland and disregarding some very remarkable decisions in some instances of a doubtful and whimsical character.

The writer is unwilling to predict that the application of the referendum to Swedish conditions will have the same results as in Switzerland, since the one country is distinctly agricultural, and the other highly industrial. He thinks that social-reform legislation is not likely to be benefited by being

drawn into the referendum process. Its history in Switzerland is not without a warning example, and in this writer's opinion, the Norwegian referendum on prohibition proves

the case. From the standpoint of Swedish radicalism it seems clear to him that the representative and parliamentary systems must be kept intact.

LOUVAIN UNIVERSITY AFTER THE WAR

ON January 21, 1919, barely ten weeks after the armistice was signed, the University of Louvain began its first academic year since the occupation of Belgium by the Germans. Thanks to the great ability and energy of Mgr. Ladeuze, Rector of the University, says the Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., in the Irish Jesuit quarterly *Studies*, the full academic year was completed with remarkable success and the second year, which is now drawing to an end, has been still more successful. During the war, no attempt was made to repair the wreckage caused by the German invasion, and the university library, as well as almost all the buildings facing on the Central Market Place, were still in ruins when Mgr. Ladeuze decided to reopen the university.

Fortunately for the university, its buildings were scattered over the town and only three out of about twenty were actually destroyed. Except for the library, the university is now equipped once more with all the buildings necessary for its work. As the catalogue of the library was burnt along with the books, the total number of volumes destroyed is not exactly known, but is estimated at between 250,000 and 300,000. It was never rich in ancient manuscripts, and its real strength lay in medieval theological texts. Under the Peace Treaty Germany is obliged to repair in full the damage done to the university and the library. Restitution is in many cases impossible, but the general principle has been adopted that for every manuscript destroyed in the fire, another of about equal age and value must be handed to the university. For modern books, no attempt is being made to replace copy by copy, but Germany is being required to hand over a number of books published in Germany equal in value to the printed volumes destroyed in 1914.

For books published outside of Germany restitution has already been made by private and public generosity. Belgian private donations alone had almost reached the sum of 90,000 volumes by the end of the German occupation; the Vatican has made a free gift of all its publications, and of

many volumes from its great library; and private generosity in Europe and America has been such that the new library will, it is hoped, contain a considerably larger number of volumes than before the war. And these volumes are to be worthily housed. On the occasion of Cardinal Mercier's recent visit to America, a national committee was formed to aid in the work of restoration at Louvain, and \$500,000 have been subscribed for the erection of a new library. Building has recently been begun, on a site near the Institut Léon XIII; for it has been decided to leave Les Halles free, once reconstructed, for administrative purposes.

At Louvain before the war the average number of students was little less than 3000 and the university was unusually well staffed in many of its faculties, and equipped with nearly twenty institutes specially founded and organized for scientific research, and not a penny of the immense endowments of this development of the university had been contributed by any official fund or ministry. One magnificent donation has been given to it since the end of the war, for the remainder of some 150 million francs from the funds of the American Relief Commission in Belgium has been divided equally by Mr. Hoover between the four Belgian universities, which can henceforward count upon an annual revenue of nearly one million francs from this source alone.

During the occupation, the Germans, with the intention of dividing Flemish from French Belgium, created a new Flemish university at Ghent, which was throughout the war the only university in Belgium, since the others deliberately remained closed out of sympathy with Louvain. With the return of peace, the German-made university has been swept aside, and the present government has appointed a special commission to investigate the demand of the Flemish population for a special university of their own. Mgr. Ladeuze has for long been well known as a believer in extending the use of Flemish in teaching, and before the war he inaugurated his administration of the university by introducing Flemish courses in medicine and science, and subsequently in legal subjects and history, economics, and chemistry.

LIFE IN THE DEVASTATED REGIONS OF BELGIUM

THE complicated problem of the restoration of the devastated regions of Belgium is discussed in its various aspects in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), by M. F. Gos. His information, gained at first hand and from authoritative sources, is of special value.

In considering the ruined sections, the question arises: What interest do they still offer? During the war their interest was of a strategic nature, but to-day they may be regarded from the point of view of the present and the future. The first is embodied in the aid given the impoverished people who have returned to their devastated homes; the second comprises the vast problem of the complete reconstruction of the destroyed towns and villages.

And, first, as to the aid given to the deported, the evicted, who are daily returning to seek their homes—mostly in vain: That help has been and is still supplied by the American Red Cross. It was M. Delva, the sympathetic regional director of the Wervick district, who kindly gave the writer exact information regarding the philanthropic work in the devastated regions.

"We owe much, everything, indeed, to the American Red Cross," he said. It worked all over Belgium, and is active now more especially in the old "front." From the Lys to the ocean, from Wervick to Nieuport, the country is divided into six or seven districts, so that each hamlet, each group of people, knows where to apply for its urgent needs.

The headquarters of the American Red Cross are established at Roulers, and it is there we find the central depot of the merchandise sent from Paris; and from Roulers it is distributed to the different districts. On visiting the depot of Wervick the writer was amazed at the prodigious quantity and variety of articles, carefully arranged on shelves and on the floor. "And besides," M. Delva remarked, "we were able to help by selling for next to nothing, chickens and goats for the farms, sewing-machines, layettes, coal, and even petroleum. For nothing is given gratis, but everything is sold for a few centimes or francs. . . . In that way we collect nearly 100,000 francs per month (in the various districts). The money is deposited in the bank, and, according to the

current needs, we purchase here and there various kinds of commodities, which are, in turn, sold at a loss; but it is in that way that we can give help indefinitely—thanks, likewise, to the gifts we receive from all parts."

But the activity of the American Red Cross was not limited to that; it sent out huts bearing the placards: "Gift of the People of the United States through the American Red Cross"—this in order to specify the gift and to avoid the taxes payable upon all dwellings. It has, besides, organized hospitals, dispensaries for children and for consumptives; a maternity hospital is maintained at Wervick, as well as an educational center. Nothing is left to chance, and every appeal, every sort of distress can be attended to at once.

Before long, however, the American Red Cross will cease its activity in Belgium and transfer it to other places, presumably to Austria; but the work will go on just the same, carried on by a group of philanthropic and eminent Belgians—and thus it is that for many months (since February, 1919), thanks to unceasing and indefatigable aid, the sorely tried inhabitants have found strength to live, to work, and to hope.

When one speaks of restoring the zone devastated by the war, it may well be said that it involves a reformation, for, besides the ruined cities, it is the soil itself that must be leveled, drained, made normal. Gangs of laborers are employed in searching for non-exploded projectiles along the roads. The returned inhabitants dig, till, sow their bits of land. The first ones built primitive dwellings with materials from the military camps, or were granted the American huts or the poor Belgian ones; all temporary, scanty; makeshifts, it may be said, but which the people regard as a happy chance.

The writer having had the privilege of accompanying M. Hoste, one of the Belgian leaders of the modern architectural movement, on a tour to the devastated region, he could gain a realizing sense of the dwelling problem. And, to begin with, reconstruction is no easy matter, the difficulty being complicated by the administrative side and by the conditions of the locality.

To facilitate the work a "Department of the Devastated Regions" has been created under the Minister of the Interior, who has

the deciding voice in the last instance. It is he who brought about reconstruction by the state, doing away with the war tribunals, which are overburdened with work for years to come. The state being the disburser, it rightly wants to have its say, which unhappily causes clashes with the existing organizations—the communal administrations, etc. The essential thing, therefore, is to find an executive that will smooth out the difficulty, safeguard the various interests, and allow the work to proceed at once. That is the administrative difficulty; the one of locality is no less complicated.

Thus, in some places we find only vestiges of dwellings, while in others, again, as in Wervick or Furnes, many houses need only restoration. However, the first thing to do is to clear the streets of débris; only thus can reconstruction begin, but—a new difficulty—what kind of reconstruction?

M. Hoste gave the writer the benefit of some practical views. "Why not retain in Ypres, for example, in a park adapted for

the purpose, what still remains of the markets, of the principal churches? Then raze the ruins of the city completely, building it anew according to actual requirements. And, above all, avoid that error, too widespread, of imitating antique styles. If it is necessary to restore and rebuild this or that structure strive to discover the essential harmony between what is and what is to be erected, but, for the love of heaven, do not build antiques."

For the present, in all the bombarded places the streets are being cleared, the materials assorted, and already some small houses have been erected. Individual effort, but the future will show us how the Belgian architects succeeded in solving the problem, so difficult and complicated, of reconstruction. In any case, it is to be hoped that they gathered inspiration from the wishes expressed in a recent Congress at Brussels for a logical, wholesome, and practical reconstruction of all the ruined cities in the devastated regions.

WORKINGMEN'S BANKS PROPOSED IN FRANCE

IN the *Economiste Français* (Paris) of July 10 appears a letter, dated Rheims, July 1, 1920, and signed "Gaston Liégeois, Police Judge"—a letter of extraordinary and many-sided interest to which no outline can do full justice.

About 40,000 workingmen, of diverse races, are to be employed in the reconstruction of the city, which is "the cradle of French history." The conditions make such a massing of laborers even more serious than usual. In a city of ruins, with an eight-hour working day, the great majority will spend their last sou for drink; and 1000 francs per month is but an ordinary wage. Yet in the rude communism of the dormitories, any man who at present attempted to save up his money is pretty sure to have it stolen overnight. A quarter of their total earnings, or, say, a hundred million francs a year, could easily be saved from alcoholism, to become permanent capital. That alone would perceptibly retard the steady rise in cost of living.

Some workingmen, at least, if they saw opened for them access to what they call "wealth," would renounce wastefulness and drink. Furthermore, as the appetite for sav-

ings grew in them, they would crave more than eight hours' work, so as to "get rich" the faster. Even a little capital will make a man less docile to the advocates of the strike and of minimum effort. He becomes conscious of his social relation, his duty to the community. This elevation of his character is worth far more than the hundred million francs. But society must make the first advances to the laboring man.

The contractors at Rheims, big and little, represent a very large invested capital. They might well assist, discreetly, in a movement from which they would gain as much as any: viz., the creation of channels to drain off that portion of the wage-fund which the workers could save.

The name is not vital, perhaps, but "Savings Bank" or "Rheims Workingmen's Bank" would appeal to the wage-earner. He must have confidence, also, in the management. Now there are luckily some men in the city who, while raising themselves by intelligence and thrift, have still always shared the life and friendship of "the people" rather than of the "bourgeois." These the workingman will trust.

There should be a number of convenient

"Savings Stations." Deposits should be repayable without notice, or within a few days at most. So National Defense Bonds are the most obvious investment for deposits. Later, help might be extended to retail traders, by discounting notes, or through short-time loans.

The contractors could well afford to take care of the modest overhead charges and to pay on deposits the same interest that is obtained from the bonds. Meantime, they could quietly see to it that the amateur bankers had expert advice when needed. Pamphlets and films in various languages would be the best forms of advertising.

Schulze-Delitsch did very nearly all this

in Germany half a century ago, with immense results. Attention is called also to the voluntary workingmen's unions, for the purpose of purchasing government bonds, formed during the World War, in the United States and in England.

In closing, the wise judge proposes also libraries, social club-rooms, well-chosen films, concerts, etc., to make head against vicious idleness. The editors of the *Economiste* applaud the proposal with hearty enthusiasm. Indeed the most surprising feature of the letter is that its ideas seem to be offered and accepted as being, in France at least, advanced and even novel. In other countries they have already been tried out.

THE CASE OF MONTENEGRO

A STRONG argument in favor of Montenegro's right to an independent existence instead of being incorporated in the new Yugoslavia under the leadership of Serbia is presented by A. Baldacci, in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). He holds that Serbia ought not to be permitted to realize her old dream of subjugating the most heroic of the little Balkan States. This would be but a poor return for the loyalty exhibited by Montenegro to her neighbor in 1914, when Austria declared war against Serbia.

In July of that year, just before the ultimatum was sent to Serbia, the minister of Austria-Hungary, at the Montenegrin capital, offered as a premium for Montenegro's neutrality advantages at once economic, financial, and territorial, among the latter being the cession of Scutari. These offers were at once communicated to the representatives of the Entente, and Montenegro placed all her resources at the service of threatened Serbia; and she did this as early as July 24, 1914, before it could be certainly known whether Russia, France, and England would enter the war. Unfortunately, in her zeal for the cause, Montenegro failed to secure from the Entente any definite promises of material aid in the future. She at once mobilized all her available men between the ages of 18 and 63, that is to say all excepting those of Moslem faith, who were legally exempt from military service.

In order to ensure unity of action, the Montenegrins confided the chief command over their troops to Serbian officers, so that

they became an integral part of the Serbian army, and they fought heroically in the common cause. Nevertheless, the Montenegrins seem to have had good reason to complain of the negligent treatment they experienced on the part of the Allies. Reiterated requests for provisions and war material proved vain. It is necessary to seek for the motive for this lack of cordiality toward Montenegro. The Serbians have persistently insinuated that at the crucial hour Montenegro was not sincere in her support, that she was acting in accord with Austria, with which power she had a secret treaty. This false information was artfully used by Serbia to foment all manner of intrigues.

To dissipate the suspicions in regard to this famous "treaty," used as the basis of all the accusations against Montenegro, it is indispensable to recite certain facts. The alleged treaty bore the date 1907 and was published in 1912. Soon after this publication it was denied in the most formal and categorical way by the Montenegrin government. But even without this denial its falsity was proved by the attitude of Montenegro during the crisis provoked by Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1909, by the seizure of Scutari by Austria in 1913, and finally by the declaration of war against Austria in 1914. This treaty never existed, and it is only one of the many calumnies circulated by the partisans of the Serbian dynasty and by official circles in Belgrade, with the intention of compromising Montenegro and her royal house.

Why has official Serbia assumed this hostile attitude toward Montenegro? For two principal reasons. In the first place, because the reputation of Serbia had fallen off, not only abroad, but in Yugoslavian lands, owing to the crisis in its political life at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present one. The situation of the Karageorgovichs, who succeeded to the throne after the assassination of Alexander and Draga in 1903, had become an exceedingly difficult one. It will be recalled, for example, that England then refused to resume diplomatic relations with Serbia as long as King Peter failed to banish from the court the assassins of the unfortunate pair.

On the other hand, the prestige of Montenegro was well established in foreign countries, above all in Russia, as well as among the Yugoslavian peoples outside of Serbia. Czar Alexander III had called King Nicholas "the only true friend of Russia." Consequently, it is natural that the Karageorgovichs saw in the Montenegrin royal house a dangerous rival. In the second place, Montenegro is like Serbia, a Serbian land. Both are directly interested in the freeing of the provinces of Serbian race from a foreign yoke. If, therefore, Montenegro could be eliminated from the succession to the provinces to be redeemed, this would signify that Serbia would be sole heir to them.

This subversive policy was suspended during the brief period from the beginning of the war to the great Serbian victory in 1914. From this moment, however, it was resumed with greater violence than ever before. The political circles of Belgrade hoped that, as a result of the Russian advance in the Carpathians and the Serbian victory, Austria was nearing her end. Under these circumstances the help of Montenegro seemed unnecessary. Serbian emissaries conducted a defeatist campaign, not only in the Montenegrin army, but among the inhabitants of the land. Again was the secret agreement between Montenegro and Austria brought up, the proposal sale of the great stronghold Lovcen to the enemy, and so on.

All these accusations, cleverly spread about, finally succeeded in breaking down the resistance of both army and people, which had been put to a hard enough test already through lack of provisions and through privations of all kinds. At last the final catastrophe came and Serbia believed that it was possible to cancel Montenegro entirely. An active propaganda in this sense was carried on and tens of millions were expended for this object. In conclusion, the writer declares that the sacrifices made by this little country should not be forgotten, and that it should be granted the right to determine its own future.



ARRIVAL OF THE MAIL AT CETINJE, MONTENEGRO

THE NEW BOOKS

YESTERDAY—AND THE DAY BEFORE— IN HISTORY

The United States in Our Own Times: 1865-1920. By Paul L. Haworth. Charles Scribner's Sons. 563 pp.

That period of American history comprising the decades immediately following the Civil War has already been covered by a small group of contemporary historians, but nothing quite like Dr. Haworth's story of "The United States in Our Own Times" has ever been attempted. This book traces our national history through the period of reconstruction in the sixties and seventies, the era of general prosperity and industrial development in the eighties and nineties, the territorial expansion incident to the war with Spain, and finally, the Roosevelt and Wilson administrations and the participation of America in the Great War. The record of the whole fifty-five years is brought under swift but discriminating inspection. Altogether it makes a fascinating story. The "first voters" of 1920 (including millions of women) will find this book an excellent means of informing themselves on the immediate past in their country's history.

The United States in the World War (1918-1920). By John Bach McMaster. D. Appleton and Company. Vol. II. 510 pp. Ill.

In an earlier issue of this REVIEW we commented on the first volume of Professor McMaster's work. That volume was occupied with a discussion of events for the first year following the entrance of America into the World War in April, 1917. The second volume, which has just appeared, takes up the narrative at that point, and ends with the rejection of the Peace Treaty by the United States Senate in the present year. The whole story of the actual fighting in France, as done by our troops, is told in this volume, but it occupies only fifty-six pages out of 450. The remainder of the book is devoted to accounts of American war work at home, the various peace offensives, the armistice, the European journey of President Wilson, the Peace Conference, the Treaty of Peace itself, and the discussion in the Senate. Professor McMaster's well-known historical methods are consistently followed in this work. He depends largely on contemporary newspaper files.

Wings of War. By Theodore Macfarlane Knappen. With an introduction by Rear-Admiral D. W. Taylor. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 289 pp. Ill.

This book describes in detail the contribution made by the United States to aircraft invention, engineering and production during the world war. Five of the most important chapters are devoted

to the origin, development and production of the famous Liberty engine, and as Rear-Admiral Taylor, Chief Constructor, U. S. N., states in the introduction, "the entire American aviation program centered in the conception, development, and production of the Liberty motor." It is proper to state that Mr. Knappen is among those who believe that in spite of all the revelation of Congressional investigations made during the past two years the aircraft achievements of our Government, considering our unpreparedness at the outset, were highly creditable.

History of the American Field Service in France: Told by its members. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 516 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 536 pp. Vol. III. 578 pp. Ill.

The American Field Service comprised a group of youths who volunteered during the years 1915-17 to serve the French Army in the Great War. Members of this service contributed the histories, diaries, letters and sketches which comprise these three volumes. This series of personal impressions forms a unique picture of conditions in France preceding America's entry into the war. The Americans who made up these ambulance divisions rendered invaluable aid to France before their own country was enlisted with the Allies. An organization has been established to award fellowships for advanced study in France to students selected from American colleges and similar funds for French students in American universities. These fellowships will be named after the men of the American Field Service who died in France.

Letters from the Kaiser to the Czar. Copied and brought from Russia by Isaac Don Levine. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 264 pp. Ill.

As correspondent for the Chicago *Daily News*, Mr. Isaac Don Levine one year ago visited Soviet Russia, and was granted access to the government archives at Moscow. There he discovered a series of letters from the German Kaiser to the Czar of Russia, written during a period of twenty years (1894-1914). Mr. Levine obtained permission to make copies of these letters, and in the present volume they appear word for word, erratic spelling and all. Most of them are addressed to "Nicky" and signed "Willy." They are not to be confused with the telegrams interchanged between the Kaiser and the Czar, which were published in a Russian periodical in 1917 and later reprinted in a New York newspaper. The Kaiser himself has virtually confirmed the genuineness of the letters and has complained of their publication.

The United States and Latin America. By John Holladay Latané. Doubleday, Page & Company. 346 pp.

In addition to the first series of Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History at the Johns Hopkins University, this volume contains three wholly new chapters on "The Advance of the United States in the Caribbean," "Pan-Americanism," and "The Monroe Doctrine." Professor Latané has become a leading authority on our relations with the Latin-American countries.

The History of Cuba. By Willis Fletcher Johnson. B. F. Buck & Company, Inc. Vol. I. 366 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 388 pp. Vol. III. 366 pp. Ill. Vol. IV. 383 pp. Ill. Vol. V. 404 pp. Ill.

A well-written history of the island republic, of which the concluding volume is devoted entirely to the resources and the present development of the country.

The Senate and Treaties (1789-1817). By Ralston Hayden. Macmillan. 237 pp.

Many questions that have been asked during recent months concerning the early treaty-making practice of the United States Senate are answered in this monograph. The author relates in detail the procedure followed by the Senate during the first quarter-century of our national existence—

the period during which the machinery was developed and tried out. It forms an instructive chapter in American political history.

A Tour Through Indiana in 1840: the Diary of John Parsons, of Petersburg, Virginia. Edited by Kate Milner Rabb. Robert M. McBride & Co. 390 pp. Ill.

This diary, only recently brought to light, relates the adventures of John Parsons, a young graduate of the University of Virginia, who started on a journey through the then frontier State of Indiana in the spring of 1840. The traveler of those days made use of the stage-coach, canal-boat, the river steam-boat, and only occasionally the railroad. It was the year of the famous Harrison "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign, and the diary abounds in current political allusions and also mentions numerous well-known Indiana families, including the Egglestons, the Wallaces and the Julians.

A History of France. By Victor Duruy. Translated by M. Cary. With an Introduction and Continuation by J. Franklin Jameson. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 791 pp. Ill.

Professor Jameson's admirable edition of Duruy's history of France is continued to 1919 by Mabel S. E. Smith, the author of "Twenty Centuries of Paris" and other historical works.

MEMOIRS, BIOGRAPHY, AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli. By George Earl Buckle, in succession to W. F. Monypenny. Macmillan. Vol. V. (1868-1876). 558 pp. Ill. Vol. VI. (1876-1881). 712 pp. Ill.

From the standpoint of British politics the most important volumes of the monumental life of Disraeli, initiated by the late W. F. Monypenny, are those prepared by his successor, Mr. George Earl Buckle, and covering the period from 1868 to Lord Beaconsfield's death in 1881. This period comprises his famous Premiership of six years (1874-80), following many years as leader of the opposition and his long-continued contest with Gladstone. From the standpoint of practical statesmanship and parliamentary leadership, this Jewish writer of novels has had few peers in the history of British politics. Yet even in the light of his published letters and memoirs he seems detached from the scenes in which he played so great a part. So, too, the fiction of autocratic power that he created for Queen Victoria, when studied in the light of historic precedent, seems quite as unreal as the characters of his novel. From first to last Disraeli was an Oriental, not a true Briton.

Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie. By Comte Fleury. D. Appleton and Company. Vol. I. 472 pp. Vol. II. 560 pp.

At the request of the late Empress these memoirs were withheld from publication until after

her death. Since Comte Fleury himself died as long ago as 1884, allusions to the life of Eugénie since that date must have been supplied by another hand. Such allusions, however, are not numerous. Most of them occur in the last chapter of the first volume. In the main, the memoirs are devoted to the life of the French court of the Second Empire, of which Comte Fleury was a member, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the tragedy of Sedan, and the last years of Napoleon III. The material for the two volumes has been arranged with little reference to chronological sequence. The death of the Prince Imperial in Africa in 1879 is mentioned early in the first volume, while the Crimean War and the causes of the Franco-Prussian War are treated in the second. The work as a whole is to be looked upon as the most favorable presentation of the case for French imperialism that could be prepared by a devoted adherent, writing a few years after the fall of the Empire.

Memoirs of Life and Literature. By W. H. Mallock. Harper & Brothers. 378 pp. Ill.

Few living Englishmen have enjoyed acquaintance with a greater number of literary celebrities than has Mr. W. H. Mallock, who is himself an author of distinction in the field of sociology and religion. This volume of his memoirs contains interesting references to Robert Browning, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Algernon Charles Swinburne, Cardinal Manning, Herbert Spencer,

and to many of their contemporaries. There is a chapter on politics and society in America, which refers particularly to President Roosevelt and Professor William James.

Steeplejack. By James Gibbons Huneker. Charles Scribner's Sons. Vol. I. 320 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 327 pp. Ill.

Mr. Huneker has been for many years one of the best known of the music and dramatic critics in New York. These volumes give an entertaining running account of his relations with musicians, artists, men and women of the stage, and authors, both here and in Europe. Both volumes well repay perusal.

The Reign of Patti. By Herman Klein. The Century Co. 470 pp. Ill.

Whatever the ultra-moderns may say about it, most music-lovers of the past generation will accept without serious question the title bestowed upon this authorized biography of the American prima donna. "Reign" is in this instance not an extravagant word to use. In Mr. Klein's opinion it began with Patti's conquest of the London public at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, in May, 1861. It ended, properly speaking, with her final appearances in opera at the same house in 1895—a period covering thirty-four years. Some of Patti's admirers, however, may wish to include her later work as a concert singer until her farewell at the Royal Albert Hall, in December, 1906. If that is done, her "reign" must be said to have lasted for more than forty-five years. Mr. Klein, who is himself a musical critic and scholar, knew Madame Patti practically all this time. Many years ago he planned and began collecting material for a biography, and it

was her personal desire that he complete the work. Naturally her letters and papers abound in materials relating to the artistic life of the times in which she lived.

The Pastor of the Pilgrims: a Biography of John Robinson. By Walter H. Burgess. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 426 pp. Ill.

John Robinson, the Pilgrim pastor, who never saw America, but whom the Pilgrims of Massachusetts always regarded as their leader, is the subject of this book. Taken as a whole, the volume is a good example of what can be accomplished, well-directed historical scholarship applied to a definite object. The author's discovery of Robinson's parentage was the fruitage of skillful research. What he learned in that investigation throws light on the careers of other members of the Pilgrim band. The publication of his work at this tercentenary anniversary of the sailing of the Pilgrims for America is a timely enterprise.

Theodore Roosevelt. By Edmund Lester Pearson. Macmillan. 159 pp. Ill.

Just as we are approaching the sixty-second anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's birth there appears a brief biography of the ex-President, written by Edmund Lester Pearson, with special appeal to young readers. Dealing with a career so vibrant with interest, it would be difficult, indeed, for any writer to fail, but Mr. Pearson has perhaps had more than ordinary success in confining his story to the essential features, keeping a good sense of proportion and never letting go the central thread of the narrative. His book is workmanlike as well as entertaining.

SOCIOLOGY, INDUSTRY, ECONOMICS

The Social Evolution of Religion. By George Willis Cooke. Boston: The Stratford Company. 416 pp.

This volume gives an account of the human origin of religion. Its point of view is clearly brought out in the introductory chapter. Religion, according to the author's view, finds its real sanctions in its social values, in its capacity for binding men together in unifying relations. Throughout the book the sociological aspect of religion holds first place.

The American Credo. By George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken. Alfred A. Knopf. 191 pp.

A shrewd, and at times amusing, commentary on present social conditions.

The Human Factor in Industry. By Lee K. Frankel and Alexander Fleisher. Macmillan. 366 pp. Ill.

A scientific and well-considered treatment of

vital problems in the relations of employer and employee. The writers have given special attention to subjects of "Hiring and Holding," "Working Hours," "Working Conditions," "Medical Care," and "Insurance Savings and Loans." Many of these topics have heretofore been treated in the form of separate monographs, and the information thus presented has been utilized in the present volume.

Lectures on Industrial Psychology. By Bernard Muscio. E. P. Dutton & Co. 300 pp.

These lectures discuss such topics as fatigue, muscle coordination, individual differences, scientific management, motion study, and other applications of psychology to the life of workers.

Fair Value. By Harleigh H. Hartman. Houghton Mifflin Company. 263 pp.

There has long been needed an exact definition of the term "fair valuation," as used by public utility commissions and the courts. The author of this book has set forth (1) the prob-

lem of public utility regulation and what distinguishes it from that of regulation in general; (2) the specific needs it suggests and the regulatory system to meet those needs; (3) the development of the valuation theory; (4) valuation as evident in regulation; (5) "fair value," the type of valuation best suited to public service regulation. In the second part of his treatise the author applies the general principles formulated in the first part to the actual practice in commission-valuation cases. He thus attempts to state the theory of fair value, the law and the practice.

The Romance of Modern Commerce. By H. Osman Newland. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 297 pp. Ill.

A popular account of the production of cereals, tea, coffee, rubber, tobacco, cotton, silk, wool, timber, cattle, oils, furs and precious stones for the world's markets.

Present and Past Banking in Mexico. By Walter Flavius McCaleb. Harper and Brothers. 268 pp.

Doctor McCaleb has made a careful study of the subject of which American economists have had practically no knowledge. He goes back to the early days of the republic, nearly one hundred years, and traces the development of the banking interests from that time to the administration of Carranza.

The Opium Monopoly. By Ellen N. La Motte. Macmillan. 84 pp.

This little book sums up the facts regarding the British opium monopoly in the Far East, not for the sake of prejudicing the reader against Great Britain, but to arouse the conscience of the whole civilized world against the perpetuation of so dark an iniquity. The information on which the argument is based is all taken from the official "Blue Book."

ATHLETICS, TRAINING, AND PHYSICAL CULTURE

Football Without a Coach. By Walter Camp. D. Appleton & Company. 179 pp. Ill.

Any beginner at football would think himself fortunate indeed if he could have as much as an hour's personal instruction from Yale's veteran coach, Walter Camp. Yet from this little book he can get much more than that, for the successive chapters discuss almost every phase of the game that can arise during a season, and the most important practical directions for every form of play are given. Mr. Camp has prepared his book with reference to the requirements and questions of the grammar-school boy, the high-school player, and even the young man who can play only now and then on his shop, factory or office team, not to speak of the college man trying to make the Varsity. Mr. Camp's concluding sentences are well worth quoting: "Play football with your head and your heart as well as with your muscles. Play it hard, but play it square. Learn the rules. Keep in condition. Squeeze the ball, hit the line with all your power, and don't foul. That is the best advice that one football man, grown gray in the game, can give the player coming into it with all the fresh vigor and enthusiasm of youth."

Track Athletics Up-to-Date. By Ellery H. Clark. Duffield and Company. 146 pp. Ill.

As long ago as 1896 Mr. Ellery H. Clark was winner of the high and broad jumps at the Olympic Games in Athens. The next year he became all-around athletic champion of America, and has always retained his interest in amateur athletics. This book contains up-to-date detailed discussions of every form of track athletics, from the standpoint of the practical instructor. Excellent photographic illustrations accompany the text.

Massage and Exercises Combined. By Albrecht Jensen. Published by the Author, 220 West 42nd Street, New York. 93 pp. Ill.

Mr. Jensen's purpose in this volume is to outline a permanent physical culture course for men, women, and children, combining gymnastic exercises with scientific massage movements. There are eighty-six illustrations and deep-breathing exercises, and Mr. Jensen's system has been commended by the medical faculty. No gymnastic equipment is required—only the use of a few minutes of one's time daily.

